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R. Cooper Sculpt.

CHARLES II. KING OF ENGLAND.

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# **MONARCHY REVIVED;**

BEING

THE PERSONAL HISTORY

OF

## **CHARLES THE SECOND,**

FROM

HIS EARLIEST YEARS

TO

HIS RESTORATION TO THE THRONE.

REPRINTED FROM THE EDITION OF 1661.

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WITH FOURTEEN PORTRAITS.

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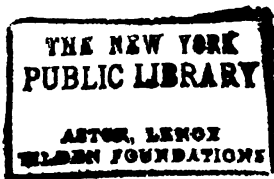
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**MONARCHY REVIVED,**  
**IN**  
**THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS**  
**CHARLES THE SECOND;**  
**WHOSE**  
**LIFE AND REIGN**  
**IS EXACTLY DESCRIBED IN THE ENSUING**  
**DISCOURSE.**

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**London:**

**PRINTED BY R. DANIEL, FOR FRANCIS EGLESFIELD, AT THE  
MARYGOLD, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.**

**MDCLXI.**



*To the happy Preserver of his Sacred Majesty,*

THE

*LADY JANE LANE.*

*Madam,*

*This small volume, humbly offered to your hand, contains part of the life and reign of one of the greatest monarchs in the world: the rest it is hoped, as it will be the employment of a more elegant pen, so it will not be accomplished till it afford a chronicle of more years' prosperities in these nations than this is of miseries. That I have presumed to dedicate it to your Ladyship, if I incur the censure of boldness, I am confident every one will commend the fitness of my choice: since nothing could be more improper than to entitle your Ladyship to the relation of that life, which, next under the Divine Providence, you were chiefly instrumental to preserve. To you, Madam, we owe all that can be owed from Christians, subjects, or men, to any person upon earth; by whose dangerous but ever memorable fidelity we are at length restored to whatever is dear to us in those three capacities; and which is no small*

*consideration, to the liberty of publishing the impartial truths (as far as the best relations afforded) in this Book. Nor is the present age only obliged to you, but your glory shall live upon record, and your name (embalmed with praises) be preserved in the memory of thankful posterity. In all which respects, I have thought it my duty, both in testimony of my particular loyalty and gratitude, to present this piece to your Ladyship as the person that has the greatest right to it, and withal publicly to acknowledge myself,*

*Madam,*

*Your Ladyship's most devoted Servant  
and eternal Honorer,*

**FR. EGLESFIELD.**

A  
TRUE AND ACCURATE RELATION  
OF THE  
**Life and Reign**  
OF OUR  
SOVEREIGN LORD AND KING  
**CHARLES THE SECOND.**

---

**KING CHARLES**, the first of that name, having soon after his coming to the crown, married **Henrietta Maria**, youngest daughter of **Henry the Fourth**, and sister of **Lewis the Thirteenth**, kings of France, was blessed with a son on the twenty-ninth day of May, One Thousand Six Hundred and Thirty. Upon whose birth, as the King was going in solemn manner to the church **St. Paul** in London, to present his grateful devotions to God for his own and the nation's happiness, in receiving so eminent a pledge of his favour, there was observed a new star appearing in the time of mid-day; as if the heavens seemed, by an extraordinary production, to emulate the new splendour of the earth. The young Prince was baptized at **St. James's**, on the twenty-

seventh of July next ensuing, by the hand of Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London (Dr. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, being rendered incapable by an unhappy accident of shooting a man), and received his father's name, Charles : his godfathers were his two uncles, Lewis the Thirteenth, King of France ; and Frederick, King of Bohemia and Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine ; whose absence occasioning them to depute their substitutes, the late Duke Hamilton represented his Majesty of France, and the Duke of Richmond the King of Bohemia. His godmother was Maria de Medicis, Queen-Dowager of France, represented by the Dutchess of Richmond.

It deserves our notice, that he was born the greatest prince that ever these nations knew ; never any before him having been born heir apparent to the crowns of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland ; which was intimated in the silver coins made at the solemnity of his baptism, on the reverse side whereof were the arms of those four kingdoms with this motto, *Hactenus Anglorum nulli.*

On the fourth day of November, One Thousand Six Hundred and Thirty-One, it pleased the Divine Providence to enlarge the royal family by the birth of a daughter, the Lady







S. Lutchuys Pinx:

R. Cooper Sculp:

ALFRED LORD OF CONWAY, 1718.

*Published by C & H. Baldwin, Newgate Street.*

Mary, who was afterward (viz. May 2, 1641), married to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, by whom she hath a posthume son, named William : a Princess whose perfections qualified her for the bed of the greatest potentate in Christendom, had not the interest of religion been more considered in her match than amplitude of territory or title.

By the blessing of Heaven upon the royal bed, the King became father to another son, the most illustrious and renowned James Duke of York, upon the thirteenth of October, in the year One Thousand Six Hundred and Thirty-Three ; he was solemnly baptized on St. James's day next following, and within a few days after created Duke of York ; a title borne by his father, during the life of Prince Henry his elder brother.

This prince hath, though yet in his youth, so signalized himself by his valour in the armies of the Kings of Spain and France, that I think this age, nor perhaps any of old, cannot afford his parallel.

His Majesty likewise had another son brought forth to him by his royal consort upon the twentieth day of July, 1640, who was christened Henry, and created Duke of Gloucester : and

a daughter at Exeter, during the wars, upon the sixteenth of June, 1644, named after her royal mother Henrietta Maria.

This is the surviving issue of our late sovereign of blessed memory: and having thus briefly given an account of the parentage and birth of these illustrious princes, I shall proceed to represent the life of him who is particularly the argument of this relation, Charles, Prince of Wales, now our sovereign Lord King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c.

The care of his infancy was committed to the right honourable the Countess of Dorset, wife to the last earl; till, after some years, having outgrown female conduct, the present Marquess of Newcastle was chosen by the King as a fit person to imbue his youth with all the accomplishments requisite to greatness, and the reverend Dr. Duppa, Lord Bishop of Chichester, and now of Salisbury, as one able to form his tender mind to true religion and virtue.

Every year of his childhood afforded new promises and hopes, and even in that age, which usually has not the advantage of discretion either totally to subdue or at least to dissemble the motions of passions, he expressed on all occasions an extraordinary goodness and sweet-



THEYRECHER, DUTCHMAN OF GOSWOLD.

*Published by C & H Baldwin Newgate Street.*



ness of nature, seeming to have been born with that equal temper of mind, which few men render themselves capable of by the help of philosophy and religion. Nor were his inclinations to virtue more remarkable than those he had to excellent and solid arts, which the composedness of his genius rendered more acceptable to him than the levity of the most exquisite divertisements.

In the ninth year of his age he happened to break his arm, and was very sickly, falling first into a fever and shortly after into the jaundice; but by the favour of the divine Providence he happily overcame his distempers, and afterward attained a firmer health.

When he came to sit in the House of Peers (1640), his first action in public affairs was the carrying the King's letter to them, in favour of that noble but unfortunate lord, the Earl of Strafford; the King hoping that when all other respects could not prevail upon them, at least the consideration of the dignity and goodness of this royal messenger might something move them to reflect upon the hard measure they had determined for him. But through the cruel fate of this brave man (or rather that of these three kingdoms), the heat of I know not what strange

zeal had made them so thirsty for his blood, that a day or two's respite of execution of the severest sentence that ever was given, was more than could be afforded to the desires of their King, though presented by the hands of their Prince. This repulse he suffered, was certainly the beginning (if not the cause) of all his ensuing sufferings, and those of the Nation's too. For soon after happened that fatal misunderstanding between the King and the Parliament; which occasioning the King's withdrawing from London, he commanded the Prince to attend him, first at Greenwich, then at Hampton Court, then at Theobald's; the incensed Parliament and City in the mean time regretting his escape out of their hands, having designed to make advantage of his person according as the contingency of their affairs should suggest to them. From thence, with the Duke of York, he accompanies his father to Newmarket, and from thence into Yorkshire, where they all stood before the gates of Hull and were denied admission by Sir John Hotham, till at length the two princely brothers were by his special favour permitted as children to see the town.

At York, the Northern Nobility and Gentry offering their service to his Majesty, received

thanks for it, but were not made use of (for prevention of jealousy) until a greater danger induced the king to neglect his safety no longer; and accordingly he selected a company of gallant and loyal persons for his life guard, which were commanded by the young Prince; his Majesty assuring them they should hazard their lives no farther in defence of their country's laws and liberties than himself; and that they should endanger themselves no farther for his person than his own dear child.

In this manner he accompanied the King from York to Newark in Nottinghamshire, and from thence to Lincoln and Leicester, and back again into Yorkshire: in which progress the King endeavoured to satisfy the counties he passed through, of the uprightness of his intentions for the good of the nation, and evidenced to them the desperate courses the Parliament were engaging in, in order to deprive him of the royalty left him from his predecessors, and this under pretence of liberty and religion. At his return into Yorkshire, the King informs the gentlemen there of the Parliament's forwardness to a war, desires them to spare him some arms, and to complete Prince Charles's regiment for the guard of his person under the command of the Earl of Cumberland.



Not long after, the King having gathered a considerable army, was met between Keinton and Edge-hill in Warwickshire by that of the Parliament under the conduct of the Earl of Essex; there was the first considerable battle fought of our civil Wars. The Prince was then in the field, and the honourable Earl of Lindsey (who was the King's general, and lost his life in the fight), looking upon him very attentively, a little before the conjunction of the armies, I know not by what prophetic instinct uttered these words, *There's a child born to end that war we now begin.* Which how miraculously accomplished, we cannot but gratefully acknowledge; the civil wars having continued ever since; the army which had subdued the one party, afterward turning their swords upon those that first employed them, and the poor nation being ruled by the sword, and always in a state of war, and groaning under the miseries inflicted on it by armed oppressors.

After this the King retired with the Prince to Oxford, and committed him to the right honourable the Marquess of Hertford, then and still Chancellor of that University, who provided for him several worthy persons in the quality of tutors for his instruction in all such languages

and sciences as were convenient for the accomplishment of a prince. During his residence there it pleased God to visit him with the measles, and that not without some danger of death, which by the divine mercy and indulgence to these nations he avoided, and is respited we hope for many years. Here he was very diligent in commendable studies intermixed with ingenious and innocent pleasures; and upon the King's summoning a Parliament thither, which convened the twenty-second of January 1644, himself with his noble brother, the Duke of York, sat with the rest of the nobility in the upper schools which were designed for the House of Lords (as the Convocation House was to the Commons) who were no inconsiderable number, there being present at that assembly, besides these two young Princes, the Lord Keeper Littleton, the Lord Treasurer Cottington, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, nineteen earls, three-and-twenty barons, and a hundred and forty knights and gentlemen.

The next year the Prince betakes himself into the field; being now about fifteen years old; his first course was westward, where, by his Majesty's order, he had attendants appointed him suitable to the grandeur and state of an heir to

three crowns ; he set up a royal court, and chose out a retinue at his own pleasure (the King though disapproving the action in a letter to the Queen, yet admiring his discretion in the election of them) scarce inferior (as a great observer affirmed) to that of his deceased uncle, Prince Henry. During this time the King of Portugal sends over an Ambassador, who amongst several specious proposals relating to his Majesty's present exigencies, tenders one for a marriage between the daughter of that King and the Prince of Wales ; which for good reasons the King his father put off with a civil answer, importing a denial of the proposition, though (as the policy of state-affairs often makes it necessary to do) in words expressing no dislike of it.

After that fatal battle of Naseby, which turned the scale to the disadvantage of the royal interest, several overtures intervened between Prince Charles, the Lord Goring, and the Parliamentary General Fairfax ; but the two former always received the same answer from him, which signified nothing, viz. " That he was but a servant to the Parliament, and could not exceed his commission, which empowered him only to fight ; therefore in reference to a Treaty, application ought to be made to his Masters at

Westminster." The Prince accordingly writes to him again to grant the Lords Hopton and Culpepper leave to attend the King, and mediate with him for a treaty with the Parliament : to which the General upon grave consultation with his committee of war returns his desire, " That his Highness would be pleased to disband his army, and he would conduct him with honour to the Parliament." This seeming too hard a condition, the Lord Capel by the Prince's command replied by letter,

" That his Highness did not believe that his overture of engaging himself in the mediation of a blessed peace for this miserable kingdom would have brought him an inhibition to quit his duty to his royal father by dividing his interest from that of his Majesty ; whereby he should render himself unworthy and incapable of the fruit of that peace he laboured for. If his proposition might be consented to, he hoped God would so bless his sincere intentions and desires as to make him a blessed instrument to preserve this kingdom from dissolution. But if that be rejected, he should give the world no cause to believe, that he would forfeit that honour which only can preserve him in a capacity of doing that service, and should with pa-

tience attend God's good pleasure, until his endeavours may be applied with preservation of his innocence. This is all I have in command from his Highness, your Servant; A. CAPEL."

Such were the honourable, loyal, and good intentions of this noble Prince, and such was the insolence of the victors, and the fate of this nation, that no mediation could be acceptable that might prevent its approaching total ruin: so that this generous letter received no other answer but silence.

Shortly after the Prince repairs to Oxford, and there reconciles his cousins, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, to his father, their uncle. From thence also he writes several letters to the Speaker of the House of Peers, containing propositions for reconciliation and peace; which notwithstanding took no effect. Therefore he departs into the West, with intent to raise the forces of his dukedom of Cornwall and the county of Devon for the relief of Exeter, which was at that time besieged by Sir Thomas Fairfax. In order to which he commits his own army to the conduct of the Lord Hopton, who soon after resolved to come upon the back of Fairfax, and accordingly advanced to Tarrington with five thousand horse, and four thousand

foot. Fairfax hearing this leaves his siege, and marches towards Torrington. The battle began near the town, which was, after a sharp encounter, taken, and the Lord Hopton himself shot in the thigh, but escaped away to Stratton. His Highness in the mean time was at Lancelton, but understanding the approach of Fairfax's army, he quitted it, leaving Colonel Bassett behind him with five hundred foot and horse, who skirmished with the Parliamentarians, and being soon worsted, got off by the favour of the darkness of the night. The Prince in the mean time goes to Pendennis, where finding the pursuit so hot, he embarked himself for the Isle of Scilly on the first of March, 1646, accompanied by the Lords Goring and Culpepper, and Sir Edward Hyde. Soon after his departure, the Lord Hopton, finding Fairfax's successes daily to increase, and himself unable to do any service to check them with those broken forces he had left, desires a cessation; but the General summons him to lay down arms; upon which ensued a treaty at Tresilian Bridge; Sir Thomas Fairfax quartering at Truro, and the Lord Hopton further westward; between whom it was agreed, upon the thirteenth of March, "That the Lord Hopton should disband his army in the West,

and have fifty horse of his own and fifty of General Fairfax's, for his convoy to Oxford : that all strangers should have passes to go beyond seas, and to carry with them what was their own without horses and arms. That all English officers should go home to their respective habitations, or, if they pleased, beyond sea : each colonel to have his horse, and two men to wait on him ; each captain one man and horse ; the troopers twenty shillings apiece, and to go whither they pleased."

Such was the fate of the royal cause, under the conduct of this heroical Prince, who wanted fortune rather than virtue to be happy.

Hitherto we have with all succinctness and verity represented the adventures and actions of his Highness from his infancy here in England. He was now about sixteen years old, the last six of which he had been a spectator of his Father's calamities, and the ruin of his native country, having been a sufferer in both, as soon as he was become capable to distinguish between good and evil. Most part of his tender age was spent in armies, amongst the tumults and noise of an unfortunate war ; and now he finds himself enforced to quit the territory of England, leaving the King, his father, with the

Duke of York, and the two Palatine Princes, Rupert and Maurice, closely besieged in Oxford by the Parliament's forces, and most of the other garrisons of the King's ready to surrender to the power of their victorious armies. The sense of all which certainly had been insupportable by a spirit less courageous and firm against such heavy adversities than that of this young hero. We must now follow him into the Island of Scilly, where he had not been long, but a solemn message is sent from the Parliament, "to invite him to come to them, and to reside in such places as they thought convenient, with such attendants and counsellors as should be by them appointed." It being no part of my design to comment upon any passages of this history, but only to represent things nakedly as they were done, I shall forbear to make any conjectures what the intentions of the Parliament were in this invitation, leaving the readers to their own judgment. Indeed the Prince had inducements enough to move him to accept of their offer, his Father's condition in a manner desperate, his own little better, having no hopes left but those slender ones of foreign succour; it might have seemed the best and safest course to a young Prince, to secure his succession at least to the



government, to have gone to them upon honourable terms; according to the example of Edward the Third, in the life-time of his father Edward the Second. But loyalty prevailed above all other considerations, and therefore upon the twenty-fourth of April he returns this prudent answer, "That it became him not to do any thing in a matter of that concernment, without his Royal Father's privity, advice, and free consent; and therefore, before he could satisfy the Honourable House, he desired that a pass might be granted for the Lord Capel to go to the King at Oxford, to take his advice, and hearken to his royal pleasure, and make some overtures to him in order to a peace." Moreover he desired that the reverend Archbishop of Armagh, a person of transcendent learning, great moderation, and of an unspotted and inoffensive life, might have liberty to come to him. These proposals, though extreme fair and reasonable, were offered to deaf ears, and took no effect.

In the mean time Fairfax having taken in the City of Exeter, and the town of Barnstable, upon articles, marches against Oxford, which put the King upon thoughts of providing for his own safety; and therefore on the thirteenth of

April, he went out of Oxford in a disguise with Parson Hudson, waiting upon Mr. John Ashburnham, and upon the sixth of May got to the Scottish army before Newark. Soon after which Sir Thomas Glenham surrendered the city of Oxford to General Fairfax upon the twenty-fourth of June, 1646. The Duke of York was carried from thence to St. James's, where he met with his sister the Princess Henrietta Maria, who was sent thither from the surrender of Exeter, but was shortly after conveyed from Oatlands over to her mother in France, by her governess the Lady Dalkeith.

From the Island of Scilly, the Prince removed to that of Guernsey, where he had not long been, but an ordinance is put out against him in the nature of a ban, prohibiting all persons to repair to him, or correspond with him by letter or otherwise, upon pain of death without mercy. Whereupon his abode here being so uncomfortable, he betakes himself for France, to visit his mother and that court; there he was received with great demonstrations of joy by all parties, excepting the dissembling Cardinal Mazarine, who though he pretended much respect, yet was he inwardly glad to see him in distress and exile. From hence the Queen, being willing to

comply with the active desires of her son (which inclined him to break through these clouds of misery and retirement, which seemed wholly to obscure him), writes to the King by Major Bosvil, requesting him to permit the Prince to go into the field with his uncle, the Duke of Orleans, that summer in the head of a French army, that was then designed for an expedition into Flanders against the Spaniards. To which his Majesty refused to condescend, partly for that he judged it an employment below a Prince of Great Britain to serve any other king but his own, whose pay and orders were once received by a Roman Cæsar, and partly because he knew not how soon his service might be necessary for his own country; and therefore he commands him to wave that design, and await his further instructions.

In the mean time it pleased the King of Kings to lay his hand upon him, and visit him with an intermitting fever, which continued upon him for the space of some weeks; until by the divine blessing upon the physician's care, he was recovered to perfect health. Soon after which he received a commission from his royal Father to be generalissimo of all the loyal forces that survived of the late unsuccessful battles and

garrisons. While he is advising about this affair, the kingdom of Scotland, out of tenderness of the Prince's safety, honour, and conscience, move the King, "That his son, the present hope and future happiness of these nations, might not be exposed in his youth to the dangers which encompassed him in the French court, particularly in reference to his religion, the perversion of which might have fatal consequences in these three kingdoms." Whereupon his Majesty from Newcastle (whither the Scots, fearing least General Fairfax should fall upon them and compel them to deliver him up, retired with him) writes to him, "That he should wait upon his Mother, and obey her dutifully in all things, religion only excepted, and that he should not stir any whither without his directions." The Scots also (by their Committee of Estates) write themselves to the Prince to invite him thither, "Professing that none of the late calamities (except those that had befallen his royal Father) afflicted them more than his Highness's absence: and seeing their forces had entered England to do their duty to religion, his Majesty, and his Highness, they humbly desire he would please to honour and countenance their pious and loyal endeavours with his gracious presence, for whose

honour, safety, and freedom, they engage the public faith of that kingdom.

“Signed, CRAWFORD LINDSEY.”

In answer to this, he desires the Earl of Lauderdale to return his acknowledgments to the States of Scotland, and assure them he would do nothing misbecoming a good Prince, or unsuitable to their civility.

But the Prince, in pursuance of his instructions, negotiating in behalf of his Father's affairs in the French court, by his Mother's assistance (whom her nearness of blood, great deserts, and low condition, made powerful there), prevails with the French to advance 10,000*l.* for the Marquess of Ormond, towards the furtherance of his Majesty's affairs in Ireland, as an earnest of greater matters. And some remainders of his Cornish forces getting to a head, others upon order marching to him out of Ireland, he goes to meet them at the Island of Jersey, with such forces as he had gotten together beyond sea, especially in France by his Mother's means, and in Holland by the mediation of his young brother-in-law, William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who about this time succeeded his father Henry in the dignity of general and admiral of the United Provinces. He possessed himself like-



From a Bust by R. Faithorne.

R. Cooper Sculp.

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*Published by C & H. Baldwin Newgate Street.*



wise of some vessels in the island, adding others to them which he hired in France.

While his Highness lay here, a letter is sent to him from the Parliament by the hands of Colonel Russel, their governor of Guernsey, which lies six or seven leagues distant from Jersey. The effect of it was, to desire him for his Father's, his own, and the three kingdoms' sake, to return to them, where he should find all due respects subjects could afford, or his Highness expect. The design was to get the person of the Prince into their hands, as the Scots had that of the King; but it took no effect; the Prince proceeding to manage his affairs by sea and land to such advantage, as might enable his royal Father to stand in the approaching treaty on such terms as might consist with his conscience and his honour.

On July the twenty-seventh following, sixteen general propositions, with sundry qualifications, were presented to the King at Newcastle, by the Earls of Pembroke, Suffolk, &c. who were limited to ten days, which the King judging unreasonable, refused to consent to, and desired to come to London and treat personally. After which, the Scotch General Assembly send a remonstrance to his Majesty, desiring him to



settle matters in England according to the COVENANT, and to sign the Parliament's propositions. And Chancellor Loudon told him plainly there was no other means for him to close with his Two Houses. And moreover, if he lost England, he should not be admitted to reign in Scotland. But the King still persisting in his denial, the Scots, who had hitherto somewhat sharply disputed about the disposal of his person, are content, upon the receipt of a good sum of money, to depart home and leave the King in the power of the Parliament; who voted him to Holmby House, and sent commissioners to receive and convey him thither, where he arrived on the seventeenth of February, 1646-7.

The war was now totally finished, and dissensions brake out between the Parliament and their army; an accomodement of which is undertaken by commissioners chosen on both sides. But the army, judging it would be advantageous for their concernments to get the King into their hands, sent Cornet Joyce to Holmby with five hundred horse, upon the fourth of June, who took the King from thence by night, without the privity and consent of the Parliament, or the General himself (as he professed in a letter to them). And now the damnable mystery of ini-

quity begins to work ; they march up to St. Albans against the Parliament's order, refuse to deliver the King's person to their commissioners, and amongst other insolences impeach eleven members of the House of Commons. The Speaker (though he had the day before protested against such a dishonourable act in the Abbey Church at Westminster) flies to the army with several members. The City stick to the remaining part of the Parliament, for the restoring of the King, and declare against the army. Fairfax marches up to London, which prepared to oppose him, enters the City with twenty thousand horse and foot upon the sixth of August, re-establishes the members, receives their thanks, puts Tichbourn into the Tower of London as lieutenant, takes up his head-quarters at Kingston, and places the King at Hampton-Court. Within a few days after, several members of the House are accused of treason, as Sir John Maynard, Denzil Hollis, Sir William Waller, Major-General Massey, &c. Sir John Gayer, and four aldermen, Culham, Bunce, Langham, and Adams, are committed to the Tower ; and the Earls of Suffolk, Lincoln, Middlesex, with the Lords Berkley, Maynard, Hunsdon, and Willoughby, of Parham, to the Black Rod. All the works of the City are

voted to be cast down, upon the pretence of bringing in the King; but, indeed (according to the design of the Army, suitably to whose pleasure they acted), to disable it from resistance. Propositions are sent to the King, the same in effect with the former of Newcastle. Agitators are set up by the soldiers amongst themselves to carry on their interests. The Scotch Commissioners send a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, for a personal treaty between his Majesty and the commissioners of both nations. But whilst new propositions are preparing, the King, being informed of designs against his life, escapes from Hampton Court, with intent to go to the Isle of Jersey, where the Prince still lay. At his coming to the sea-shore, he found himself disappointed of a ship, and therefore goes with Colonel Legg to Tedsworth, to the Countess Dowager of Southampton's house, and sends Sir John Berkley and Mr. Ashburnham (which three accompanied him in his escape) to the Isle of Wight to Lieutenant-Colonel Hammond, of whom he had with no great reason entertained some hopes. Hammond goes with them and fetches the King to Carisbrook Castle. Hence he sends a letter to the Parliament and the Scotch Commissioners, granting all they

could desire. Whereupon new propositions are sent to him, which the Scotch protest against as too derogatory to his honour; and therefore they are refused. Hereupon the incensed Commons vote no further addresses to him; which presently endears them to the Army again.

Affairs standing in this ill posture, the Prince, with the Duke of York (who had escaped in woman's apparel from St. James's and landed at Dort in Holland, by the help of Colonel Bampfild, sent over purposely on that design by the queen), Prince Rupert, the Lords Hopton, Wilmot, Willoughby, Brainford, Culpepper, Ruthen, Sir Henry Palmer, &c. in his own ships and those that had revolted, in all twenty sail, with two thousand men, moved to and fro in the Downs and upon the southern coast; to lay hold of any opportunity that might present itself for the service of his Father, sending forth several commissions to that purpose, to persons of honour and trust, who might promote his affairs by land; as to the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Inchequin, and Montgomery in Ireland; to the Committee of States in Scotland and their officers; to the Lord Goring in Kent, and the Lord Capel in Essex; to Sir Thomas Glenham and Sir Marmaduke Langdale in the North; to Colonels

Poyer, Langhorn, and Powel, in Wales; as also to Sir Edward Hales, Sir Charles Lucas, the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Holland and Peterborough. Letters of correspondence pass mutually between him and the Scots, his Father and the City; whereof some are intercepted, in which the City, the Lords, and some Commons, are intimated ready to contribute all assistance possible.

For the better satisfaction of the world his Highness was pleased to publish a most gracious declaration, which consisted of the ensuing particulars:—1. For the establishment of religion, according to his Majesty's agreement of the twenty-sixth of December last, *viz.* That Presbytery should be continued for three years, and a free debate to be had, between the divines assembled at Westminster, and twenty whom his Majesty should appoint, about the settlement of church government for the future. 2. For the performance of the said agreement, and pursuance of the concessions on the King's part: which were, that the Parliament should dispose of the militia, and have the choice of his privy counsellors during his reign, &c. That the arrears of the army be paid, &c. 3. For restoring the King to a personal treaty. 4. For the

just privileges of Parliament. 5. For an act of oblivion. 6. For the liberty of the subject, and the abolishing excise, taxes, and free quarter, &c. 7. For disbanding of all armies and settling of peace. 8. For the defence of the narrow seas, securing of trade, support of the navy and seamen, &c. This excellent declaration was seconded with a letter from his Highness to the House of Peers, desiring,—1. That a personal treaty be had in such place and manner as may consist with the King's honour, safety, and freedom, that the treaty be not blemished with any appearance of a restraint. 2. That Scotland be included. 3. That in the mean time there be a cessation of arms, and an orderly moderate subsistence agreed on for forces on foot on both sides by land and sea, to the soldiers' content and the subjects' ease.

Hereupon within a short time several attempts were made for the king's service. April the ninth, 1643, the London apprentices made an insurrection, but were suppressed by Fairfax the next day. Soon after Colonel Poyer and Major-General Langhorn and Powel revolted, and reduced South-Wales to his Majesty's service. Sir John Owen also got together a party: but they were all routed and enforced to surrender the

places they had seized, and themselves prisoners. In behalf of the two former, the Prince, under whose commission they acted, desired General Fairfax that they might have the terms and usage of soldiers of war, as those had whom the fortune of war had made prisoners to his Highness. But the General answered, it was not in his power to act further; the Parliament ordering their trial, he dared not interpose against their justice. So that they were afterward tried as traitors; but this favour was extended towards them, that they should cast lots for their lives: it happened to be Poyer's fate to suffer, and he was shot to death, which he took with much resolution.

The next party we meet with in arms for the King's deliverance out of a barbarous captivity, and admission to a personal treaty, and the settlement of the nation in peace, were the inhabitants of Kent, who having seen the petitions presented to that purpose to the Parliament by the counties of Essex, Surrey, and the City of London slighted, and some of the petitioners murdered, resolved not to petition but with their swords in their hands. So they assembled together in a considerable body upon Blackheath near Greenwich, about the latter end of May,

1648, under Sir Edward Hales, commissioned from his Highness, Sir George Lisle, Sir Gama-liel Dudley, Sir William Compton, &c. I shall crave leave to be a little more particular in relating the whole management of this and some of the following enterprises, than I have adventured to be hitherto, because it was carried on by authority derived immediately from the Prince, and was of itself one of the most considerable. General Fairfax himself with six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, marches forth against the Kentish men, who were near ten thousand, but unadvisedly parted their forces, and sent away a brigade to besiege Dover Castle. The first intercourse between them was the offer of a parley, to which the General sent this answer.

“Sirs, I received a message from you for a pass for some gentlemen to come and treat according to an order of Parliament, but know no such order of theirs, and no authority of yours to appoint commissioners for such a purpose; and finding you and them in arms against the Parliament, I cannot admit of a treaty. But if ye shall forthwith lay down your arms and return home, I doubt not of the Parliament’s mercy to such as have been deluded into this rebel-



lion, and their exemplary justice upon the chief actors therein.

“T. FAIRFAX.”

“*Blackheath, May 30, 1648.*”

To this harsh answer, by directions from the Prince they handsomely replied,—“That they had taken arms in obedience,—1. To a universal and perpetual dictate of nature, even self-preservation, not to invade others’ right, but to secure their own. 2. To an undoubted power over us, ordained of God, we do now obey (say they), and neither tumult nor rebel. 3. To Providence, which hath given us that opportunity we dare not neglect; and we cannot lay them down without forfeiture of our reason and our honour. As to the uncertain mercy you hold forth for the deluded many (who, you think, know not why they are come together), and the certain justice you threaten their leaders with: assure yourself there is but one soul in this great body, which is unanimously resolved to stand or fall as one man, being not tempted with any hope, save that of returning to our ancient rights, privileges, governments, and settlements, and incapable of any fear, save only of relapsing again to our former slavery. The fair manage

of this business sufficiently manifests our inclination to peace. Be pleased rather to make this county your friend than your end; and we are your servants,

“PHIL. MASILDS, EDW. HALES.”

The General being inflexible, and they as resolute, they meet at a barricadoed bridge between Craiford Heath and Gravesend, and dispute the passage very stoutly, which at length is gained by the Parliamentarians, and another at Northfield: whereupon the Kentish retire to Maidstone. Fairfax, reinforcing his army to the number of ten thousand, storms the town on the second of June, but was twice repulsed with loss. The third assault got him entrance, when the fight grew more hot upon the assailants than before, as well by the forces in the street, as by continual shot from the houses. Nor was the victory accomplished till after six hours fight, and much loss on both sides. Presently after this, the city of Rochester was also yielded to the General's mercy. The Lord Goring with the remainder of this defeat, marches up in a body towards London, and rendezvoused upon Blackheath, expecting some assistance from the City, which hope failing, he crossed over Greenwich Ferry with five hundred men into Essex, where

he was met by Sir Charles Lucas, and the Lord Capel with two thousand horse and foot, and they march together to the town of Colchester. But soon after General Fairfax, leaving Colonels Rich and Hewson, who had already raised the siege of Dover, to take in the other places of Kent which stood out, crosses over into Essex after the enemy, and beleaguers Colchester with a potent army.

The Prince with his fleet, consisting, as I said, of twenty good men of war, and two thousand soldiers, (some of which were lately revolted with the Parliament's Vice-Admiral Batten, who was thereupon knighted), put in at Yarmouth Road, and would have landed there; but finding no great alacrity in most part of the people to receive him, and hearing of Colonel Scroop's coming against him with a strong party of horse and foot, he sailed from thence to the Downs, in Kent, seizing what merchants' ships and goods he could meet withal. Whilst he was here, he sent two letters to the City of London, one to the Common-Council, expressing "his Highness's good affection to peace and to the whole City, and his endeavours to vindicate his Father's liberty and just prerogative and rights; to restore the people their laws, liberties,

and properties ; to free them from that bondage under which they were now held like a conquered nation ; to ease them of excise and taxes ; to settle religion according to his Father's agreement made with the Scots ; and to reduce all things into their ancient and proper channel. This letter was accompanied with his declaration to the same purpose ; the contents of which we mentioned above. The other was to the merchant adventurers, informing them that he had made stay of three of their ships, but without intent to make prize of any of them ; desiring to borrow 20,000*l.* of them to be repaid out of the customs ; and requires their speedy answer. The copies of these two letters were brought to the House of Parliament by the Sheriffs of London and some of the Common-Council. Upon consideration of them, Colonel Harvey (first prolixly aggravating many faults in the King's government, according to the scandalous remonstrance not long before published against him) said, "The Prince was his Father's own son, as like him as could be ; that he had invited the Scots to come in, and had declared for them, and had been formerly against the Parliament ; that he was but a subject ;" and moved the House to declare

him a rebel and a traitor. Sir Peter Wentworth, Mr. Knightly, and Mr. Blakestone seconded him with much earnestness; and so did Edward Ash, who farther moved, "That the Common-Council and merchants should give no answer to his letters," alleging, "there was no danger the Prince should make prize of their ships, for that he had engaged to the States of the Low Countries to do no act prejudicial to trade." At last the debate was put off till the next day, when the Speaker putting the House in mind of it again, it was earnestly called upon by the younger Sir John Evelin, Scot, Weaver, Holland, Boys, and almost all the godly gang. So the debate was resumed, and Weaver went very high to try the temper of the House. But the debate *interminis*, "That the Prince should be declared a rebel and a traitor," was soon laid by (though violently pressed), chiefly for these reasons—1. They had not the originals of the Prince's letters and declaration (which the Common-Council still kept), but only copies, not so much as attested upon oath by any authentic clerk; therefore no legal proceedings could be upon them. 2. It would argue no peaceable inclination in them the same day when they sent messengers to invite the King his father to

a treaty of peace. 3. It could not consist with the national covenant. 4. It is high treason by the stat. 25 Edw. III. to endeavour the destruction of the Prince, the King's eldest son : but to declare him a rebel and a traitor was to endeavour to destroy him, and therefore high treason, &c. But what they could not do expressly, they did implicitly, by voting all that should adhere to, aid, or assist the Prince, rebels and traitors. Hereby they put a tie upon the City, not to redeem their ships by lending 20,000*l.* to the Prince; and yet had a pirate taken them, it had been lawful to redeem them. About this time also an order passed the House of Commons for the Earl of Warwick to fight the Prince at sea. It was sent up to the Lords, and passed that House too; whereby it became an ordinance: yet some of the Lords entered a protestation against it, as the Earls of Lincoln, Suffolk, and Lord North.

The Prince continued still in the Downs with his fleet in a good condition, waiting for that supply of land forces his brother the Prince of Orange was very industriously raising for his service in Holland, and in the interim was willing to do something for the relief of Deal Castle, which was besieged by a party of Fairfax's army

left in Kent for that purpose. In order to which he landed five hundred men, who at first charged handsomely, but being overpowered by number were beaten, several slain and taken, and the rest got aboard again. Failing of this attempt, he was inclinable to hazard himself for the relief of Colchestsr, which bravely held out against Fairfax's whole power; but from this he was dissuaded, as a business of too apparent danger. Wherefore he continued expecting the event of Hamilton's expedition in the North, who was sent into England by the Parliament of Scotland with an army of twenty-one thousand men, upon the account of the covenant, viz. for a restitution of his Majesty with safety and honour, and settlement of Presbytery. On the fifteenth day of July, the House of Commons (without the Lords) vote the Scots that were come into England enemies, and that they might covertly include the Prince, the question was put, that all such English as had invited the Scots under Duke Hamilton to come in hostile manner into England should be declared traitors? and carried in the affirmative.

He that shall consider the House of Commons was still in a manner entire, and consisted of the very same men that so often and by so many



JAMES I. OF SCOTLAND.

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votes, remonstrances, declarations, protestations, vows, and oaths, pretended the defence of the King's person and just authority, settlement of these nations in purity of religion and preservation of the just rights and liberties of the subject (the very same things now petitioned for by several counties, and declared for by the parties up in Kent and Essex, and Duke Hamilton in the North), cannot but wonder they should vote them traitors and endeavour their destruction (with that of the nation consequently), who took up arms in the greatest sincerity possible for those honourable purposes, themselves alleged to countenance their own against the King. But the truth is the two Houses sat under a force ever since August 6, 1647, when Fairfax marched up with his army in hostile manner against the City. For from that time the lesser party of the House (who together with some officers of the army had laid the blackest design that ever was hatched by the instinct of the devil), siding with the army, overawed all the proceedings of Parliament, and at the same time held the King and the major part of the House in suspense with unfaithful treaties, and sent their forces against such as desired the same things they would be

believed themselves intended. The House of Lords, too, being strangely supine, in not resenting the frequent slighting and contempt of their authority, and not attempting any thing at all for the deliverance of their sovereign, the vindication of their own honour, that of the nation with its rights, privileges, and freedoms, against the usurpation of an army and corrupt faction in that of the Commons. An insolence which I am persuaded, none of their great ancestors we find in histories under the same titles, but would have ventured both lives and fortunes to the utmost, rather than have endured; and certainly their posterity will wonder what they were doing all this while. The Earl of Holland, indeed, though no soldier, yet dared well, and out of a sense of honour thought himself obliged to try his fortune in the field, if possible he might be an instrument to avert the destruction he saw threatened his sovereign, and the miseries of tyranny impending over this poor nation by an armed power. By commission from the Prince he assembles together about five hundred horse and foot about Kingston heath, July 2, having with him the Duke of Buckingham, and his brother, the Lord Francis Villiers, and the Earl of Peterborough.

But he was soon routed by a stronger party ; himself taken, and afterward put to death for his noble but unfortunate attempt. Such were the sins of this nation, and thus the good providence of God was pleased to bring about the punishment of them, by frustrating all means and courses taken to deliver it from the miseries that threatened it. For soon after, viz. August 17, the great army under Hamilton is defeated by Cromwell and Lambert, at Preston in Lancashire, and the Duke himself taken, and afterward beheaded by the English Parliament for this action. This defeat was followed by the surrender of Colchester, which had endured a sharp starving siege of three months upon hopes of relief from this Scottish army. Thus all the Prince's enterprises failing, and his fleet being in great need of provision, he is forced to give over further action, and retires to the Hague in Holland, to his sister the Princess of Orange, in expectation and attendance upon providence. Shortly after, many counties of England soliciting the Parliament for a treaty with the King, the honester and greater part take heart again, recall the votes of non-addresses, vote a treaty, send commissioners with propositions to the King : all which his Majesty fully consented to,

and there was no difference between him and the Houses but concerning presbytery, which he granted should be established for three years. All men now hoped for a happy settlement. But, alas! now begin the greatest of our woes. The Army, who could not think their greatness and power would be durable if the King lived, draw nearer to London, petition for their arrears, and for justice upon the King as the capital cause of the evils of the civil war, to which effect also they published a remonstrance, requiring withal that a peremptory day be set for summoning the Prince of Wales and Duke of York; and if they refuse, to declare them incapable of government or succession, and to stand exiled as traitors; and if they render themselves, yet they to be proceeded against for satisfaction; with other demands of the like strain. To bring their accursed design to pass, Fairfax commands Colonel Hammond to deliver up his charge to Colonel Ewer, by whom the King is conveyed out of the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle, November 30, contrary to the intentions and consent of the Parliament, as they declared. And thus the treaty was violently broken off. Yet the Lords vote the King's concessions a sufficient ground for peace, and so do the major

part of the Commons. But the Army march up to London, discharge the trained bands from guarding the Parliament, and order Pride's and Rich's regiments to supply their places, by whom above forty Members are seized on and confined, Major-General Brown, and ninety odd Members, excluded the House. Then the Army form a new model of government, which they style *The Agreement of the People*, destructive to all the fundamental laws of the land, which was presented to the new moulded House by Sir Hardres Waller and sixteen Officers. The House hereupon annul the votes against non-addresses, and exclude all members that will not join with them in this proceeding. They then proceed to order the trial of the King, and remove him, though the Lords refused to concur, and declare no act of the Commons binding without their consent. However force overcomes all right and reason. A pretended High Court of Justice is erected, of which John Bradshaw (newly created Serjeant at Law) is made president. The King is brought before them upon Saturday the twentieth of January, 1648, on Monday the twenty-second, on Tuesday the twenty-third, and on Saturday the twenty-seventh of the same month; where, persisting with magnanimity and reason

to deny the power of the Court, and being most impudently and insolently treated by Bradshaw, he is condemned to be beheaded for tyranny, treason, and murder. According to which sentence (having taken leave of his children here in England, and sent his blessing to his son in Holland) he was put to death before Whitehall gate upon Tuesday the thirtieth of January. The Dutch and French Ambassadors, in behalf of his Majesty, made intercession for his life; the Scottish Parliament published a remonstrance against the Parliament's proceedings; the Ministry of London declared their disallowance before God and men; the House of Peers offered themselves as pledges for his sacred Majesty; but all prevailed nothing. The barbarous Junto are inexorable, being made so desperate by their own guilt that they thought nothing could secure their former crimes but this impious, detestable, and unparalleled murder of their sovereign.

During his Majesty's trial, which was carried on with all expedition and speed, the Prince, who could not be satisfied of that strange turn from a treaty to a trial, writ the following letter to his Father by the Lord Seymour.

"Sir, having no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesty's affairs, but such as I re-

ceive from the Prints, or (which is as uncertain) reports; I have sent this bearer Seymour to wait upon your Majesty, and to bring me an account of it; and that I may withal assure your Majesty I do not only pray for your Majesty according to my duty, but shall always be ready to do all which shall be in my power to deserve the blessing which I now humbly beg of your Majesty upon, Sir, your Majesty's most humble and most obedient Son and Servant

“CHARLES.”

“*Hague, Jan. 23, 1648.*”

But, alas! sad were the tidings the Lord Seymour returned with into Holland, the most inhuman, illegal, and barbarous murder of the King of Great Britain by the hands of his English subjects: an act which struck all Europe with horror and amazement, and which certainly our posterity will eternally detest. To represent the sorrow and affliction of our illustrious Prince, with his royal brother the Duke of York, and his Sister of Orange, without doubt surpasses all the power of words. No Prince ever lost a father whom he was to succeed in royalty with greater regret; and indeed all circumstances considered, I conceive no mortal man



had ever greater occasion of grief. Certainly had not the extraordinary grace of God supported him he could never have borne up against it. I know not how better to present his passionate resentment, than by imitating the old Grecian Painter, who being to pourtray Agamemnon present at the sacrifice of his daughter, represented all his followers weeping and lamenting, but drew a veil over the father's face, as hiding the transcendent passion his pencil was unable to express.

A few days before the King's death, the Commons voted the style in writs and all judicial proceedings to be altered from *Carolus, Dei gratia*, &c. the great seal with the royal scutcheon of England to be broken, and a new one made with the arms of England, and the harp of Ireland, with these words, *The Great Seal of England*, engraven on one side, and on the reverse the picture of the House of Commons sitting, with these words, *In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored 1648*. On the evening of that black day on which his Majesty suffered, a proclamation was set forth by the Junto prohibiting all persons upon pain of high treason to presume to declare, or publicly to promote Charles Stuart, styled Prince of Wales, eldest

son of the late King, or any of the rest of his children, to be king of England. In pursuance of which determination, having taken their king out of the way, they proceed against kingship, and constitute a select number of themselves, joined with the General and chief officers of the army, in the supreme authority. The House of Peers is voted dangerous and unnecessary; and an act passed and proclaimed in the city of London, for abolishing of kingly government and settling these nations in way of a free state. It was also published, 1. That it should be treason to speak against this form of government. 2. That it should be treason for any to endeavour the exercise of kingship in these nations in his own person, or promote it in another; especially Charles, the eldest, James, the second, and Henry, the third, sons of the late King. After which they proceed as far as they could to abolish the very memory of his late Majesty; his arms are ordered to be defaced in all places throughout the nations, and his statues broken, all the regalia sold and embezzled, the crown revenue set to sale, and all the goods of the royal family made prize on by those that had murdered and expelled the owners.

Nevertheless, there wanted not some in this

sad consternation, who shewed themselves so resolute in asserting the title of Prince Charles to the crown of these nations, as to print and disperse this following proclamation in several places of the City of London.

“ We, the noblemen, judges, knights, lawyers, gentlemen, freeholders, merchants, citizens, yeomen, seamen, and other free men of England, do according to our allegiance and covenant by these presents, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously, acknowledge and proclaim the illustrious CHARLES, PRINCE OF WALES, next heir to his father King Charles (whose late wicked murder, and all consenters thereunto, we from our hearts abominate), to be by hereditary birthright and lawful succession, rightful and undoubted King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland : And we will constantly and sincerely, in our several places and callings, defend and maintain his royal person, crown, and dignity, with our estates and lives against all opposers, whom hereby we declare to be enemies to his Majesty and kingdoms. In testimony whereof we have caused these to be published throughout all counties and corporations of this realm ; the first day of February, in the first year of his Majesty’s reign.”

But the royal party was so totally suppressed throughout this nation, that they wanted power to make good what their consciences assured them was just and right. This endeavour testified their loyalty, and withal their weakness. For though the hearts of most of the nation were as willing to promote the son's succession, as to withstand the father's destruction; yet were they as unable to advance the one as they had been to prevent the other. Indeed Ireland was in a manner wholly for his Majesty, in many places whereof he was by joint consent both of Protestants and Papists proclaimed king. The Lord Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Inchequin, and other great persons, had considerable forces in the field for his interest, and all the garrisons of that island held out for him, excepting the two most important, the cities of Dublin and Londonderry, which were kept from returning to their allegiance, the former by Lieutenant-General Jones, then governor; and the latter by Sir Charles Coot, who maintained their cause and authority who had barbarously murdered his royal father in England. Besides the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and Man, remained faithful to him, though they were of no other advantage than to serve as places of retreat for the

small fleet that was left, after the greatest part of it had again revolted to the Parliament's navy. The Parliament of Scotland, as I said, had protested against the proceedings of the English against their common king: but at this time that nation was divided into four grand factions or parties. The first consisted of such as had confederated with the English Parliament during the wars, till they saw their accursed design of destroying the king and subverting the government; these were the prevailing party who sent Duke Hamilton with that numerous but unfortunate army into England, 1648. They were willing, though upon certain conditions, to own and declare Prince Charles for their king; only in this they sided with the English Independent Junto, that they endeavoured to the utmost to depress and discountenance the Malignants (as they called those who had adhered to his late Majesty), who make up the second party. The third consisted of such as were so strictly devoted to the Kirk and Covenant, that they only projected the advancement of them, and cared not for any other interest either of king or free-state, but strenuously opposed both; of which faction Colonel Straughan and Colonel Kerre were two great sticklers. The fourth and last, and worst,

were such as by unparalleled treachery to their Prince, their native country, and (as it appeared afterward) to themselves too, held secret correspondence with the sectarian power and army of England. This division I have made will give much light to the understanding of the reasons of the Scottish actions and their consequences, when we come to relate them. At present it may suffice to intimate that this discord among themselves retarded them from publicly proclaiming and owning their lawful king.

In the mean time the King having been awhile a close mourner in Holland, and received the condolences of the Lords' States (who also deputed an orator to represent their sad sense of the inhuman murder of his royal father, which he performed in an elegant Latin oration extant in print), he committed the management of his affairs there to the care of his Brother and Sister of Orange, and took a journey to France, both to visit his disconsolate and forlorn mother, and to desire the assistance, which he might reasonably conceive that King obliged both in honour, consideration of consanguinity, and the general concernment of all monarchs, to afford him. He was received in the French Court with much respect, and after a short stay at Paris, took up his abode

at St. Germain's, having his royal brother, the Duke of York, with him.

He had not been long here, but, contrary to the expectations, as well as hopes of himself and all his royal subjects, news was brought him of the defeat of the army in Ireland, under the Marquess of Ormond, than which a gallanter and richer had scarce been seen during all the late wars. The Marquess had laid siege to Dublin, on the twenty-first of June, 1649; but that City being reinforced with a supply of three thousand horse and foot from England, and encouraged with the expectation of more, the besieged made several sallies out upon them from time to time, and at length in one surprised the Marquess's main army, and totally defeated it, himself not without much difficulty escaping by flight. It is very true, the Marquess had an army of about twenty thousand men, but the greatest part of them were Irish, and so such as he dared not trust; besides, I have heard it credibly reported, he might have taken Dublin if he had pleased, but forbore to do it merely in tenderness to the numerous Protestants that were in it, whom the Irish would have without question unmercifully destroyed, if they had taken the place by assault; and as yet there was no other way to take

it, by reason the besieged had high expectation of succour from England. This was the first blow received by the young King, and a great one it was indeed, and so important, that it made way for the loss of all that Kingdom. About the same time also Sir Charles Coote issued out of Londonderry, and beat off Sir Robert Stuart and Colonel Mervin that besieged it. And immediately upon this success, Oliver Cromwell landed in Ireland, with the title of Lord-Lieutenant; and was followed by his son-in-law, Ireton, with about forty ships. The royal field army being lost, Cromwell falls upon the garrisons: the first place he attacked was Droghedah (or Tredagh), which he soon took by storm, and with a cruelty unknown since the first rise of Christianity, put the governor, Sir Arthur Aston (a noble gentleman that had served the late King in England), and all inhabitants of the town, of all ages and sexes, to the sword. Thus was providence pleased to suffer wickedness to prosper. This success was followed with the loss of many considerable towns and castles in all parts of Ireland, besides several field-battles obtained over the Lords Inchequin, Ardes, and Clanduboy; and Lieutenant-General Farrell, by the Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote,



Colonels Venables, Zanchy, Reynolds, and Hewson. So that in less than the space of this year that kingdom was wholly lost, which in the beginning of it, his Majesty looked upon as so considerably his own, that he was almost persuaded to have gone thither in person, but waved upon mature advice, and went to the Isle of Jersey, where he was proclaimed by the islanders immediately; and the Lord Jermin, Earl of Yarmouth, was made governor; and Sir George Carteret, his deputy. His retinue, at his arrival in this place, amounted to about three hundred persons. A little before his departure from St. Germain's, the Duke of York came to him out of Holland, and was visited by the French King and the Cardinal, of whom he humbly implored aid in behalf of his brother. Mazarine answered civilly, that he might assure himself of all favour and assistance from the King of France, as soon as he had the power and opportunity to serve him: in the mean time the Duke is presented with one hundred thousand crowns. From Jersey his Majesty sends his summons to Guernsey (which was wholly the Parliament's, saving Cornet Castle), to submit to his obedience: but it was to no effect. It is reported by some, his Majesty had some expectation from the level-



S. Lattichays Hnr.

R. Cooper Sculp.

JAMES DUKE OF YORK.

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lers, who at that time had revolted from the rest of the Parliament's army ; but whatever their design was, they were suppressed both in the West, and at Burford, in Oxfordshire.

The English plantations in the West Indies, at this time under the Lord Willoughby of Parham, refused obedience and subjection to the Parliament ; who thereupon first interdicted them all traffic and commerce, and shortly after reduced them with a fleet sent from England, under the command of Sir George Ayscough.

The King at Jersey receiving intelligence of these unfortunate successes following one upon the neck of another, his chief hopes and expectations lay now in Scotland. He understood the several factions there, and that the Covenanters, who were most considerable both for power and number, sought their own advantage by him, and would cause much difficulty in his affairs there ; wherefore, to balance them a little by the honest royalists, who were his and had been his Father's friends, and whom the former endeavoured to keep under, as also to bring them to more equitable terms, he gives commission to the noble and valiant Lord Marquess of Montrose to raise forces for him in Holland and other parts. The Marquess in a short time

sends some few forces into the Isle of Orkney, and some few others landed in the north of Scotland under Sir James Montgomery. These the Committee of Estates resolve to oppose, though raised for the King's service; and notwithstanding after long debate and contest between the opposite factions, the best of which were infinitely scrupulous, at length resolve upon a letter of propositions to his Majesty, and send it by Mr. George Windram, Laird of Libberton, upon the twenty-fifth of September, 1649. Upon the thirtieth of that month he arrived at Jersey, and presented his Majesty with these propositions from the States of Scotland.

“ 1. That his Majesty would sign the solemn league and covenant, and pass an act for all persons to take it throughout that kingdom, and ratify all that had been done concerning the same.

“ 2. That he would ratify divers acts of Parliament of Scotland made by the two last Sessions; viz. 1. For disclaiming Duke Hamilton's last expedition. 2. For receiving of the several acts made by the English for the militia. 3. For the Kings of Scotland to have no negative voice in their Parliament.

“ 3. That his Majesty would recall the late commissions given to Montrose, &c.

“ 4. That he would dismiss all Papists from about him, and let none be of his council but Protestants.

“ 5. That he would appoint some place about Holland for a treaty with their commissioners ; whither they intended to send several persons of honour for that purpose, and take care for his entertainment during that time suitable to his dignity.

“ 6. That he would give a speedy answer to their desires.”

After some time of debate upon these proposals, which were variously entertained ; some upon diffidence of the Scots' fidelity dissuading his Majesty from complying with them, (as the Lords Byron, Cleveland, Gerard, &c.) others, on the contrary (as the Lords Percy, Wentworth, Wilmot, and Sir George Carteret), counselling him not to put that to the hazard of war which might be obtained by treaty (especially his strength being at that time so low, if he should resolve only upon force), letters came to his Majesty from the Queen; urging that if the Scotch Propositions seemed at present too severe and unsupportable, he might have opportunity hereafter, when possessed of that kingdom, to free himself in some measure

from the inconvenience of them : therefore she judged it best to close with them. Montrose also then in Holland writ to the King to the same purpose, desiring his Majesty "to hearken to the Scotch Commissioners, so as to admit of an agreement with them which might settle his Majesty in that kingdom with safety and honour;" adding, "that, as for himself, he should be contented to be banished perpetually from his native country rather than be the least cause of prejudice to his Majesty's affairs." Thus this incomparable pattern of loyalty preferred the interest of his Prince above all respects of his own. But his Majesty was too generous to admit of his offer, and therefore answered him, "That he had such assurance of his fidelity, and so high a sense of his services performed to his late Father and himself, that he could not in justice or in honour desert him, and therefore desired him to urge him no further to it." At length the advice to close with the Scots seemed most safe and reasonable, and proceeding from the greater number of suffrages, it was resolved to follow it. The next thing therefore to be deliberated of, was what answer should be returned to the propositions; which requiring some time, Sir William Fleming was dispatched before-

hand to Edinburgh as agent, till it could be completed and sent by the Laird of Libberton.

The new commonwealth in England in the mean time was modelled thus.—The House of Peers, as I said, was voted down; the Commons reduced to about one hundred; and a new kind of senate set up, called a Council of State, who sat at Whitehall, consisting of forty persons; these, indeed, though derived from the Parliament, grew to have greater authority than their creators; but though the supreme power seemed in appearance to be in these two councils, yet it was really in the hands of the Army, the chief officers of which ruled them that ruled the nations. Their principal business at home was to fortify their new government by making several acts of treason, and to terrify others by putting to death divers of the nobility, as Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, Lord Capel, &c. and such of the gentry who had opposed their barbarous and tyrannical proceedings. They also employed themselves in dividing the patrimony of the crown, having murdered the father and expelled the son; the same course also they took with many thousands of loyal persons, either confiscating and selling their estates, or putting them to redeem the same upon great



compositions ; by this means, and prodigious taxes together, drawing all the wealth of the nation, both money and lands, into their own hands, and sharing the same among themselves and their lords the officers of the army. His Majesty had small hopes of doing any good immediately upon England, although he had friends enough in it. However, two noble gentlemen Sir John Berkley and Colonel Slingsby offered themselves to serve their Prince in England, and accordingly came from Jersey into the West, and went about stirring up their correspondents to arms for their king and country; but they were both accidentally discovered and taken.

The King had sent ambassadors to several great princes and states, as the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Duke of Moscovy, the State of Venice, the Grand Seignior, and others, to solicit their aid and contribution for the recovery of his father's kingdoms. But from the most of them he received only compliments and pretences of their good will to help him. The most considerable embassy, and most probable to take effect, was that to his Majesty of Spain by the Lord Cottington, who at his audience remonstrated in the name of his master, " That the Parliament of England having been in arms



FRANCIS BACON COMITONOTON.

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against his father, had prevailed against him, and caused him to be put to death; that he being son and heir to the late king, was yet kept out of his kingdoms by the said Parliament; and therefore he desired his aid and assistance to establish him into his rights and dignities in his kingdoms." To this the King of Spain answered, "That he was sorry for his father's ill success, wishing he had been more prosperous; that he condoled with him for his father's death, and was much affected with sorrow at the manner of it; that concerning the difference between him and the Parliament, and the rights on the one or the other side, they being matters out of his territories and jurisdiction he could not take cognizance of them, nor should he meddle therein: but for any thing within his own dominions, he should be ready to do him what lawful favour he could." But such is the influence self-interest has upon the minds even of the greatest potentates, that it many times excludes all considerations of generosity. Had the neighbour-states resented the injustice done to this King and his Father, as they ought, I am confident the spirits of the Junto would have soon been broken. But the course of the world, as I said, is otherwise; his

Majesty of Britain is an exile, his enemies are great and powerful, and therefore instead of sending assistance to the unfortunate Prince, the King of Spain sends an Ambassador to court the new commonwealth of rebels to a league.

The King hearing of a fleet of ships preparing by the Parliament for the Island of Jersey, thought fit to dispatch his answer to the Committee of Estates of Scotland in order to a treaty, which being drawn up with a letter directed to the Committee of the Kirk-Assembly, the Laird of Libberton departed with it to Scotland. Soon after which, his Majesty, to avoid all danger, went from Jersey back again into France, where he resided with his royal Mother till the time for the Scotch treaty drew near. Before his going thither, he writ thus to the Lord Marquess of Montrose.

“ Most dear and well-beloved Cousin, We have received letters from our kingdom of Scotland, of which you receive herewith a copy; by which our subjects demand of us, that we would please to acknowledge for lawful their Parliament; and particularly the two last sessions of that assembly. Which being obtained of our grace, they offer to send us their deputies

with full commission to treat with us of the means to re-establish peace and obedience in that kingdom. We have made them an answer, that we have made known to their envoy the place where we desired their deputies should come to us with all diligence. And to the end you should not apprehend that by our letters or by the treaty, we had any design to hinder the affairs we have committed to you, we have thought fit to let you know that as we judge the levies you have made for our service to have been a powerful motive to oblige them to send their deputies and to enter into treaty with us ; so we also believe, that the progress you shall make in your generous designs will dispose them to treat with the more moderation, to the end the whole realm may again happily return under our obedience. We assure you we have not the least thought to derogate from that ample commission which we have given you, nor to diminish that authority in which we have invested you by our letters patent. And we do promise you also, if it shall come to pass that we shall enter into any good intelligence with our subjects, we shall have so much care of your proper interest, that all the world shall

see how much we esteem your person, and what confidence we have in your conduct and your courage, whereof not only the late King our Father, but ourself also have received proofs both by what you have done and suffered for us. In the mean time, you shall understand that we have qualified the assembly of our subjects with the appellation of the Committee of Estates; which we have done only for this treaty: which if it shall not succeed as we desire, as we know already this qualification of the privy signet does not at all authorize them to be such, so we shall then forthwith declare for what we hold them, notwithstanding this title which we have given them, both for their own proper satisfaction and also to make known to all the world, that we desire to bring back our subjects of the kingdom of Scotland to their duty, rather by ways of sweetness and amity than by the rigour of our arms, if their obstinacy and the injustice of their demands should constrain us to recover it by force. We therefore do hereby give you full power to proceed vigorously in your enterprises, not doubting but all our loyal subjects of Scotland will join themselves with you; and by that means all those

who are otherwise disposed will submit themselves to reason in that treaty which we now accept; or shall be forced thereto by arms.

To this, we permit you to publish these presents, and to communicate them to such as you shall judge fit. So we pray God, to preserve you, most dear cousin."

The Laird of Libberton being arrived at Edinburgh, where he was expected with much impatience and longing, as soon as the Committee of Estates and Assembly of the Kirk were met, delivered his Majesty's message and letters to them, informing them also by word of mouth, how greatly inclinable he found him to an agreement to their desires; as,—1. That, in reference to ratifying all that the Parliament of Scotland did in their two last sessions, he was willing there should be passed a general act of oblivion. 2. That such as had served under the Marquess of Montrose and Duke Hamilton in his last expedition, should be incapable of all public charge without consent of Parliament. 3. That he had designed Breda in Holland for the place of a solemn treaty upon the fifteenth of March next ensuing, in order to a perfect accommodation between himself and his subjects of Scotland.



His Majesty's Letter to the Committee of Estates was in these terms :—

*For the Committee of Estates of Scotland.*

“ CHARLES R.

“ We have received your letters lately presented to us by Mr. Windram Laird of Libberton, and we accept graciously all the expressions of affection and fidelity therein contained towards us, with your tender resentment of our present condition, and the just indignation which you profess to have against the execrable murderers of our Father. And we believe that your intentions are full of candour towards us, as we are and always have been desirous to settle a clear and right intelligence between us and our subjects of our ancient kingdom of Scotland, which may be an assured foundation of their happiness and peace for the time to come, and an effectual means to root out all the seeds of animosity and divisions caused by these late troubles; and also to unite the hearts and affections of our subjects to one another, and of them all to us their King and lawful Sovereign; to the end that by their obedience to our royal and just authority, we may be put into a condition to

maintain them in peace and prosperity, and to protect them in their religion and liberty, as it appertains to us according to our charge and office of a king. And as we have always resolved to contribute whatever is to be done by us to obtain these good effects, and for the just satisfaction of all our subjects in this Kingdom ; we have now thought fit upon the return of Mr. Windram to command and desire you to send unto us commissioners sufficiently authorized ; to treat and agree with us, both in relation to the interest and just satisfaction of our subjects there, as also concerning the aid and assistance which in all reason we may expect from them to bring and reduce the murderers of our late most dear Father of happy memory to condign punishment, and to recover our just rights in all our kingdoms. And we will that they attend us on the fifteenth day of the month of March, at the town of Breda, where we intend to be in order thereunto. And in confidence of a treaty, as also to make known to you and all the world, that we sincerely desire to be agreed, we have resolved to address these unto you under the name and title of a Committee of Estates of our kingdom of Scotland ; and will and expect that you use this grace no otherwise for any advan-

tage to the prejudice of us, or our affairs, beyond what we have given this qualification and title for, namely, *only for the Treaty and in order to it*; although we have considerations sufficient and very important to dissuade and oblige us to do nothing in this kind antecedently at this time. Also we hope the confidence which we declare to have in your clear and candid intentions towards us, will furnish you with strong arguments to form in yourselves a mutual confidence in us, which by the blessing of God Almighty, by your just and prudent moderation, and by that great desire that we have to oblige all our subjects of that kingdom, and by the means of the treaty which we attend and hope for, may be a good foundation of a full and happy peace, and an assured security to this nation for the time to come: which we assure you is wished of us with passion, and we shall endeavour by all means in our power to effect."

To the Committee of the Kirk likewise his Majesty writ a letter much to the same purpose, which as soon as they met was delivered to them. Those to the Committee of Estates were first referred to a sub-committee of nine lords and burgesses, to present their opinions

thereupon to the Committee of Estates, who were to receive their reports and prepare the matter for the Parliament of Scotland shortly to be convened. And moreover for the more expedition a joint committee was chosen out of that of the Estates and that of the Kirk by common consent, to consider of sending commissioners and propositions to the King. Much was the debate and great the contestation in this council; the insolent Kirkmen rejecting all other accommodation, but such as might render his Majesty in a condition wholly subservient to their pleasure, framed higher propositions than ever. Those of the Estates were more moderate, in comparison, though high enough too; and at length became more prevalent. So commissioners were jointly chosen to be sent to his Majesty. The Earl of Cassills, the Lord Lothian, the Laird Burley, and the Laird Libberton, Sir John Smith, and Mr. Jeffries, for the Estates; and Mr. Broady, Lawson, and Wood, in behalf of the Kirk. These arrive at Breda before the King, and therefore the next day they went to meet him at Berghen-op-Zoom, and came together to Breda, March 16, 1649. Three days after they were conducted to audience by the Lord Wentworth, master of the ceremonies, in

the King's coach. The Earl of Cassils made a short speech as from the Estates, and Lawson for the Kirk; after which they shewed their commissions and delivered the propositions and letters from the Estates and Kirk of Scotland. The propositions were these.

“ I. That all excommunicate should be forbid the Court.

“ II. That the King would by solemn oath and under his hand and seal declare his allowance of the National Covenant of Scotland, and of the solemn league and covenant of the three nations.

“ III. That he would confirm all acts of Parliament, enjoin the solemn league and covenant, establish Presbytery, the Directory, the Confession of Faith, and Catechism, in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk and the Parliament; and that he would observe the same in his own family, and swear never to oppose or endeavour the alteration of the same.

“ IV. That he would consent that all *civil* matters might be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments in Scotland, and all matters *ecclesiastical* by the ensuing general Kirk Assembly.”

After the reading of these propositions and

the letters his Majesty being told these were all their instructions, answered, that he would take these things into consideration, and doubted not to give them such a full answer, as should give them and his kingdom of Scotland ample satisfaction.

His Majesty and his council deliberated very seriously upon these heads of the treaty: opinions were divided, some persons vehemently dissuading him from trusting himself into the hands of the Scots. But the Covenant was the main thing the King stuck at, and the Commissioners most urged. In the mean time he withdraws to the Hague to consult with the Queen of Bohemia and the Prince of Orange (who was visited by the Commissioners and entreated to be a mediator between them and his Majesty), and some other friends what course was best to resolve on. And soon after the Earl of Carnworth and Mr. Murray arrive at Breda from the Committee of Estates with further instructions and propositions; as—“1. That his Majesty should ratify all that had been done in the Parliaments of Scotland in some late sessions;” and consent, “that Montrose and his adherents be prohibited access into that kingdom.”

These conditions were sufficiently hard, but

the posture his Majesty's affairs then stood in seemed to most of his counsellors to afford an invincible argument to persuade him to accept them. The Marquess of Montrose, as I said, was commissioned by the King to levy what force he could on that side the sea, and to fall into the North of Scotland, upon hopes his appearance there might induce the States to more moderation. In order to which he had solicited the Princes of Germany for assistance, but he received little more from any but promises and compliments. Only from the Duke of Holstein he was supplied with three or four very fair vessels well armed and manned. And to expedite his business he dispatched Colonel John Ogilby to Amsterdam, to entertain such strangers as might be for his purpose. But he, forgetting his commission, bestowed both money and pains in entertaining himself, suffering those, who upon any terms would have engaged, to shift for themselves; there being a great number who had fled out of England, and more who had lately deserted the French, or been cashiered the Hollander's service. By which neglect those goodly ships provided for service were lost, and a limb of the design broken. Nor was this the only miscarriage that happened in the beginning of



ILLUSTRATION OF THE AUTHOR.

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the Marquess's enterprise. For Colonel Cochran likewise, who had been sent into Poland to deal with the Scotch merchants there for assistance, having procured very considerable sums of money upon that score and other provision, disposed of the money to his own use, made sale of the corn and provision, together with the vessel appointed for the transportation of it, and himself turned tail to the quarrel. And General King (whom the Marquess expected out of Sweden with a considerable party of horse) either could not be ready so soon as was expected, or else delayed on purpose. However, the Marquess fearing (as is supposed) he should have an express command to desist from his purpose, because the treaty betwixt his Majesty and the Scotch Commissioners was likely to come to a speedy conclusion, whereby himself should be banished out of that kingdom, fatally resolves to proceed, notwithstanding all difficulties. So he set forth for the conquest of a nation settled in a posture of war, and forewarned of his intentions, with about six or seven hundred men at most, strangers and all, about the tenth of April, 1650. He had sent him by the Queen of Sweden for the arming such as upon his arrival should betake themselves to his party, fif-

teen hundred arms complete for horse, back, breast, &c. carbines, pistols, and swords; all which, after his defeat in Caithness, were taken untouched. Two of his ships with near upon a third part were sent before, and directed to steer for the Orcades; but by storm of weather, which is both frequent and dangerous amongst those Northern islands, they were lost with all the men and arms, nothing saved. This was another check, and a forerunner of the sad event which followed. However, nothing terrified with these unhappy presages, he arrived himself at the Isle of Orkney, having with him several Scotch gentlemen resolved to partake of his fortune. Here he continued a considerable time to raise such forces and recruits as the place would afford, which were poor, raw, untrained fellows, making up the show of an army, but wholly ignorant of war. With these he embarks and lands at Caithness, the farthest point to the North-west of Scotland, expecting the coming of two thousand men raised in the Earl of Seaforth's territories. His arrival, and that with foreigners, immediately struck a terror into the whole country as far as Edinburgh, where the Parliament, then sitting, forthwith order Lieutenant General David Lesley, Colonel Straughan

and Holborn, to march against him with seven thousand foot and three troops of horse. In the mean time the Marquess moves but slowly, and to prevent misapprehension (since all the world was much astonished at his invasion, whilst the King was upon a treaty) puts forth a declaration, to make known, "That his intention was only against some particular persons who had, against the laws of the kingdom, raised and maintained a war against the King's father, and did now by their subtle practices endeavour to circumvent and destroy the son; that he intended nothing against the generality of the kingdom: and lastly, exhorted all subjects of that nation to endeavour to free themselves from the tyranny of those who for the present ruled the state, and from the oppression of the Ministry." But the country, partly through fear of the danger, and partly being over-awed by the Earl of Sunderland, did not come to second him as he expected. Straughan, who commanded a choice party of horse, advances before Lesley's body, whilst the Marquess had effected nothing material besides the taking of Dumbath Castle. Upon Straughan's approach, a party of a hundred were drawn forth, who encountered his forlorn hope, and put them to retreat; but being immediately

seconded by Straughan's whole body, who charged upon that of the Marquess, the Islanders threw down their arms and were dispersed; only the Dutch forces made an orderly retreat into some shrubs hard by, where having very valiantly defended themselves awhile, they were at last enforced to yield. This was a total defeat: of one thousand two hundred which were in the field on the Marquess's side, two hundred were slain, and all the rest taken, saving about a hundred who escaped by flight. Among the prisoners of note were Major-General Sir John Urrey, the Lord Frendraught, Sir Francis Hay of Dalketie, Colonel Hay of Naughton, Colonel Grey, Lieutenant-Colonel Stuart, with a great number of other considerable officers and two ministers. The royal standard was also taken, in which was pourtrayed the head of the late King, lying a bleeding, and severed from the body, with this motto, "JUDGE AND REVENGE MY CAUSE, O LORD." The Marquess himself, when he saw the day lost, threw away his cloak which had the star on it (having received the order of the garter a little while before), deserted his horse, changed his habit with a Highlander, and fled. The news of this victory was so welcome to the State and Kirk of Scotland, that

they rewarded Straughan with 1000*l.* sterling, and gratified the other officers. And to assure it, they ordered narrow search to be made for Montrose, propounding a great sum to any that should apprehend him. He had continued three or four days in the open fields without meat or drink, with only one man in his company; till at length in this starving condition he discovered himself to the Lord Aston, who had formerly been a friend of his. But his adversity and the promised reward made him now be looked upon under another notion, so that either out of fear, or covetousness, or both, this Lord sends this illustrious but unfortunate hero with a strong guard to David Lesley, by whom he was forthwith sent to Edinburgh, into which he was carried with all the ignominy, malice, assisted with zeal, could invent: all which he underwent with extraordinary constancy and magnanimity. He was brought to the town's end upon a cart-horse, and at the gates he was met by some officers and the executioner in his livery-coat. They put him into a high seat in fashion of a chariot, and bound him about the breast and arms with a cord into a chair. The executioner (being so commanded) took off the Marquess's hat, and the chariot being drawn with four

horses, put on his own bonnet, mounted one of the first horses, and so very solemnly drive along to the Tolbooth. He had at that time many wounds about him, but none incurable. The Parliament had resolved beforehand what sentence to pronounce upon him; but the more to disgrace him and to act with formality and insolence, he was brought before them, where he appeared in a rich attire with an undaunted countenance. His chief adversaries were, Argyll, an inveterate enemy to loyalty and consequently to this noble Marquess, Loudon the Chancellor, Kerre, and Cassills who was gone on commission to the King; but especially the flea-bitten Ministers of Edinburgh, a generation of people whose courses and practices are detested by all that understand any thing of the sobriety of the Christian religion. Being brought to the bar of the House, the Chancellor told him first,—“That he must kneel at the bar.” Whereunto he answered,—“My Lord, I shall with all my heart observe any posture you shall appoint me to appear before you in, whereby I may manifest to you, that I freely submit to the authority of Parliament, and to this present Parliament in a more especial manner, because you have concluded so near a conjunction with his

Majesty my master in the late treaty." After which the Chancellor made a speech to him, the substance whereof was this.—“ Sir, I am commanded to mind you of the last judgment of God befallen you for your perfidious breaking of the Covenant; which might justly provoke God thus to divert your counsels and affairs, for having been so eminent an author and actor of mischief against this nation. You abandoned the Covenant and despised the oath of God, invaded your native country, and with most inhuman and barbarous cruelty burned and wasted divers parts thereof, and have spilt much blood of his Majesty's good subjects, taking advantage of that time when the prime commanders and forces thereof were employed elsewhere. For these crimes you were excommunicated by the Church, and fore-faulted by the Parliament of this Kingdom, and yet still continued in the highest contempt against God under that fearful sentence of excommunication; and to this day have you remained without the least show of repentance. And God by his Providence hath now justly brought you hither to receive the sentence of your condemnation.”

Hereunto the illustrious prisoner, having desired and obtained liberty, answered;—



“ My Lord, I am glad that I may answer for myself. Though I am here your prisoner, yet my cause is good; nor is there any breach of the Covenant on my part, in which I swore to be true to his Majesty, his heirs and successors. Concerning what I have done in relation to the wars and affairs of this kingdom, I had not only a general commission, but particular orders for what I have done from his Majesty, which I was engaged to obey by the said Covenant. And concerning my coming over now, I was ascertained that you had professed to comply with his Majesty in the present affairs in which he hath employed me; and upon that account it was that I have acted. I desire to refer myself, and to submit unto this present Parliament and the authority thereof to be my judges in this case, whom I own as a true Parliament by authority from his Majesty; and I shall be content, however it shall please God to deal with me. As for my life if you take it away by this authority, it is well known to the world I regard it not: death is a debt which we all owe, and must once be paid by every one; and I shall be willing and much rejoice to go the same way which my master passed before me; and it is the joy of my heart not only to do, but also to suffer for him.”

After he had pronounced this with a very composed gravity, even to the admiration of all that heard him, he was commanded to withdraw. The Parliament were not long in debate, but unanimously resolved upon this sentence of condemnation, which, he being recalled, was pronounced against him:—

“You are to be carried back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to-morrow, being the twenty-first of May (1650), to Edinburgh Cross, there to be hanged on a gallows thirty foot high for the space of three hours, with your history and declaration about your neck, and then to be taken down, and your head cut off upon the scaffold, and set upon Edinburgh Tolbooth, and your legs and arms over the gates of the cities of Stirling, Dundee, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; your trunk to be buried in the common place for thieves and robbers, except the Kirk take off your excommunication.”

This sentence, aggravated by the Chancellor in the utmost terms of horror his spleen could invent, was undismayedly received by the noble Marquess, who answered, “That he took it for a greater honour to have his head stand on the prison-gate for this quarrel, than to have his picture in the King’s bed-chamber. And lest his

loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honoured him in designing lasting monuments to bear up his memorial to all posterity; wishing he had flesh enough to have sent a piece to every city in Christendom, to witness his loyalty to his King and country."

The next day, having prepared his soul for heaven, he marched magnanimously to the scaffold, and notwithstanding all the interruptions of the bitter spirited priests, having made a sober speech to the people, underwent the cruel sentence, with all the ignominious circumstances, to his own perpetual glory, and the everlasting reproach of his enemies.

Thus died this incomparable Marquess, of immortal fame, a great example of unfortunate virtue, whose barbarous murder I have more particularly related, because it discovers the temper of that Covenanted party who put him to death. Posterity certainly will esteem his memory, and account his judges deserving a more exquisite punishment for this and other their inhuman actions, than that they inflicted on him, if it be possible for the quintessence of malice to invent a greater.

Within a few days after four other noble gentlemen suffered for the same cause; Sir John

Urry (notwithstanding he pleaded the benefit of quarter), Colonel Spotswood; Laird of Darcy ; Sir Francis Hay, and Colonel Sibbald ; though they had the favour to be beheaded.

Such was the fate of his Majesty's affairs in Scotland, and the brave persons that managed them ; and such was the unparalleled insolence of the Scots, who dared to murder his best friends, while they were in treaty with him, upon a base and ungenerous presumption, that the lowness of his condition would enforce him to put up patiently so high and detestable an indignity. Which, indeed, he was constrained to do, as his affairs then stood. When the news was brought to his Majesty at Breda, he was much startled at it, and expressed his resentment of their proceedings by a message sent them by Mr. Murrey, " That he was grieved to hear it credibly reported, that notwithstanding those hopeful overtures of peace lately made between him and them, they had shed the blood of some of his best subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland ; and that the manner thereof, according to reports, did extremely trouble him. But that he might understand the particulars more certainly, he desired an account of the business from themselves."

In answer to this, they professed "their affections were still real to him, and their hearts much joyed to hear of his willingness to concur with them in a happy agreement:" and desired him "not to stumble at some seeming obstacles, as the death of Montrose, or their reducing of his forces:" assuring him there was nothing in what they did, but to accomplish his ends and promote his interests to his best advantage. (This zealous nation does God and the King good service, when they illegally and inhumanly murder their fellow-Christians and subjects.)

These actions of the Scots, and the business of the Covenant, were the main impediments of the treaty. But the murder of Montrose, though it might justly have deterred his Majesty from trusting himself into those hands which reeked with his best servant's blood, could not be redressed; and his necessities enforced him to dissemble all farther resentment of it. As for the Covenant, he argued, "that it was the subjects' Covenant to bind them to their King, and not for him to swear to; and therefore he thought it sufficient to pass an act for his people to take it." He likewise offered to confirm the Presbyterian government in Scotland; "provided that himself might have always three chaplains of his

own election ; as also to confirm the Militia in the hands of the Estates for five years ; provided that afterward it might return to himself." These particulars were agreed to ; and so a conclusion put to the treaty. The news whereof being carried to Edinburgh, the Parliament forthwith met, and the fourth faction which I mentioned, viz. such as corresponded with the sectarian Junto of England, were so strangely and ridiculously impudent, as to put it to the vote, "whether any more addresses should be made to the King" (it seemed they desired to ape the abominable monsters at Westminster, who passed a vote of non-addresses after his late Majesty had consented to all their demands) : there were thirty-two of these malevolent negatives, but the major part carried it in the affirmative. Whereupon a message was resolved upon to be sent to him, wherein they invited him, "to make all possible speed to come to his kingdom of Scotland," and protested, "they would assist him with their lives and fortunes to establish him in all his dominions." Yet with all they forbore not to advertise him, "they had testimonies to produce of his actings by letters to Montrose," having belike intercepted three or four, "contrary to his promise to them at the

treaty at Breda," as they pretended, "however they were willing" out of special grace, "to dispense with him for what was past, so that he would without delay, according to the articles of agreement, come over into Scotland, and comply with the Parliament and the Kirk."

After this they betook themselves to make preparations for his reception: two of the chiefest houses in Edinburgh were richly furnished, and the Parliament took into consideration the nominating officers for his Majesty's household, which they did with much arrogance; not permitting those to wait upon him whom he chiefly favoured; and whom he judged best affected towards him, and by proclamation prohibiting several great Scotch Lords, as Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale and Seaforth, with many other persons of quality, who had constantly attended on him in Jersey and Holland, from returning into Scotland.

Thus we have seen the deportment of the Covenanters towards his Majesty and friends during his absence: we now come to relate their actions after he took possession personally of the kingdom of Scotland; which after the conclusion of the treaty he did not delay to do, but about the beginning of June he left the

Hague and took shipping at Scheveling in Holland. By the way he was in some danger by reason of a tedious storm, and certain English ships which plied about the coast to way-lay him; but with some difficulty he escaped both, and arrived safe at a place called the Spey, in the North of Scotland, whither some Lords were sent to receive and accompany him to Edinburgh. All the way he was entertained with the general joy and acclamations of the people. At Dundee, new propositions were by Commissioners from the Parliament and Kirk presented to him to sign; which, after some reluctancy, he performed. The town of Aberdeen presented him with 1500*l*. but the Committee of Estates sent to several places who had the same intentions, enjoining them whatever plate or money they had to bestow, to bring the same into such a treasury as they should appoint. As if it were unfit for his Majesty to be master of his own purse. While they were in expectation of his arrival, the Committee of Estates and Parliament consulted about forming of an army for his service as they pretended, and an act was passed for training every fourth man capable to bear arms throughout the kingdom, and raising sixteen thousand foot and six thousand horse;



in which the Earl of Leven was made general of the foot, Holborn major-general ; David Lesley lieutenant-general of the horse, and Montgomery major-general ; the supreme command being reserved for his Majesty. Who, arriving at Edinburgh, was entertained with many compliments and congratulations, and on the fifteenth of July solemnly proclaimed King at the Cross, and should have been crowned in the ensuing month, had not certain obstacles caused the deferring of that ceremony. He had not been long there, but the Estates and Parliament begin to busy themselves afresh about modelling his retinue, and clearing his household of such malignants (as they termed them) as were in his service, excluding them also from all employment both about his person and in the army. As for himself, he had a strong guard continually about him to attend him and observe his motions.

The English pretended Parliament had all this while sufficient intelligence of the Scots' proceedings with his Majesty in the treaty of Breda, together with their engagement to assist him in the recovery of his rights in England, and this by the perfidiousness and treachery of some of the fourth faction I mentioned in the Parliament of Scotland. And therefore, by the solicitation

of these traitors, and partly out of policy to prevent an invasion by making one, whereby the enemy's country would become the seat of the war, they prepared an army against Scotland, and sent for Cromwell out of Ireland, on whom they conferred the command of captain-general of all their forces in the room of the Lord Fairfax, who gave up his commission, abhorring to be longer a servant to such horrid designs as they had formerly put him upon.

About this time one Ascham whom the Junto had sent agent into Spain was assassinated at Madrid, together with his interpreter Senior Riba, by a combination of six or seven men at Madrid, who, after the fact, took sanctuary. Dorislaus, another agent of the upstart republic, had the same fate also, though more deservedly, about a year before in Holland. It happened also during the treaty was on foot between his Majesty and his Scottish subjects, that Prince Rupert's fleet, having for a long time been protected by the King of Portugal, was utterly destroyed upon that coast by Blake, the English admiral.

On the twenty-eighth of June, Cromwell having got all things in readiness for a war, advanced towards Scotland at the head of eleven thousand foot and five thousand horse. And approaching

to the borders sent the Scots a declaration from the pretended Parliament of England, and another from himself, to justify these proceedings. The Scots seemed much surprised at this invasion without warning given, and therefore send to expostulate the cause of it in a paper to Hazlerig, then governor of Newcastle, in another to Cromwell, and a third to the Junto; in which they urged the Solemn League and Covenant, and the former union between the two nations. But it was answered by a declaration.—1. “That the Scots (contrary to their agreement) had once already invaded England under Duke Hamilton, and were now ready for a second invasion; so that the English were advanced against them only by way of prevention. 2. That they had made a peace with the common enemy, and promised him assistance to regain the other kingdoms he pretended to. 3. They had resolved to impose their form of religion upon the English nation.” These were the grounds the English alleged for their proceedings. Accordingly Cromwell marches into Scotland, taking all the garrisons that lay in his way, till he came to Musselborough (a place famous for a signal defeat given the Scots in the reign of Edward the Sixth), there he is set upon by Major-General

Montgomery and Colonel Straughan; but the assailants were put to the worst. After which the two main armies having for some time moved at a small distance one from another, the Scots declined engaging till they got the English at a great disadvantage at Dunbar, who, by the difficulties of the place, were so distressed for provision, that they began to think of an escape by sea, and would without doubt have taken that course, had not the Scots' confidence of victory induced them to set upon them (contrary to the great prudent maxims of war, *viz.* 'to make a bridge for a flying enemy, and not to drive an enemy's army to the utmost of despair). The event of this engagement was, that the Scots, instead of an assured victory, received a total overthrow; three thousand of them being slain in the field, amongst whom was the Laird of Libberton and Colonel Lumsden, about eight thousand, with Sir James Lumsden, lieutenant-general of the foot, made prisoners, and two hundred colours (part of those that were afterward hung up in Westminster-Hall), fifteen thousand arms, and thirty pieces of ordnance, taken.

The King in the mean time was withdrawn to St. Johnstone's, being so sensible of the Scots'

unfaithfulness, that he apprehended as much danger from them as from the enemy. Here he received the news of this loss, which was followed with a greater, that of the excellent princess his sister Elizabeth, who died on the eighth of September 1650, at Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight; a lady of incomparable goodness and piety, and who deserved to have been born in a better age, and in a less barbarous nation. The execrable murder of her royal Father hastened her death; whether the same villains at the helm of the state contributed any thing towards it, though reported, I will not affirm. Only I know they were enemies enough to that family, and base enough to attempt as great a crime. It is recorded by some that the decease of this illustrious Princess afflicted his Majesty more than the loss of the army at Dunbar; and perhaps he had reason, since himself seemed least concerned in this, the forces having been raised, and ordered wholly by the States and Kirk's command, and for their interest. About this time also died the renowned Prince of Orange, to the great grief of the King, leaving his princess great with her first child, of which she was safely delivered four days after, being a son and his father's successor.



From a Print by De Jode

R. Cooper Sculp.

PORETHOES MARY.

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About this time Colonel Eusebius Andrewes, having been found with a commission from his Majesty, was condemned by a High Court of Justice, and beheaded on Tower Hill.

Immediately after this notable victory, Cromwell made himself master of Edinburgh and of Leith, only the Castle of Edinburgh held out for a good while after.

The King being unable to bear the imperiousness and hard impositions of the Estates and Kirk, extorting a declaration from him to condemn his own proceedings and those of his best affected party, banishing his friends from about him, and usurping the whole government of all affairs both ecclesiastical and civil into their own hands, and placing guards about his person, &c. secretly escapes from St. Johnstone's in much discontent (in order, as some think, to going beyond sea), accompanied only with four horsemen toward the North of Scotland, where the Marquess of Huntley, the Earls of Athol and Seaforth, the Lords Ogleby and Newburgh, with the Gordons, and the men of Athol, were ready to appear for him with a considerable force.

The Committee of Estates at St. Johnstone's were much surprised and troubled at this de-



parture of his Majesty, especially for that they feared he was gone to Major-General Middleton and the Athol men (who were purely for his interest, disclaiming the Kirk's authority with that of Parliament and Estates), for the appeasing of whom, an act of indemnity was offered them; which they contemning, and falling upon and worsting Sir John Browne's regiment, Lieutenant-General Lesley is commanded forth against them. In the mean time, while the Parliament and Committee of Estates are consulting and debating what course to take with the King, some propounding, that since he had deserted them, they should look no more after him, but leave him to his own ways; the more moderate judging it fit rather to testify to his Majesty their sorrow for his departure, and desire him graciously to return: a different faction of the Covenanters, under the command of Straughan and Kerre in the West, set forth a remonstrance to the Committee of Estates, taxing them of "imprudence and temerity in hastening to conclude a treaty with, receiving and entertaining the King, before he had given any convincing evidence of a real change, after his commissioning Montrose to invade Scotland; judging his profession of the Cause and the Co-

venant merely counterfeit, as appeared by his favouring Scotch and English Malignants as they termed them. And for these reasons they absolutely refused to submit to his power and authority. Of this faction, besides Kerre and Straughan, were the Lord Warreston (lately a member of our pretended Committee of Safety) and Sir John Chiesy. An accommodation was endeavoured to be made between them and the Estates at St. Johnston's; but they stood off, and declared against King and Lords on the one side, and the sectarian English army on the other. Thus was this poor nation divided among themselves, whilst at the same time a merciless foreign enemy was ravaging in the bowels of it. However the Committee of Estates and Kirk (several of whose great sticklers were become very inclinable to his Majesty) resolve at length to dispatch Major-General Montgomery with a party of horse after him, humbly to entreat his return. Montgomery, upon inquiry, understanding that his Majesty was at the Lord Dedup's house in the north confines of Fife, hastens thither, and first surrounding the house, enters and upon his knees acquaints the King what desires he brought from the Committee of Estates. But he abso-

lutely refused at first, as not enduring the subjection they had made him live in; the news whereof brought to the Estates, set the Kirk party and such as favoured the English sectaries agog again, who hereupon were very violent for no more addresses to be made to him, whose motion began to have some influence upon the rest. In the mean time his Majesty was urgently solicited by the Marquess of Huntly and the Athol men that rose for him in the North to adhere solely to them, undertaking to secure him against the Kirk and all others: to which invitation he seemed very prone to hearken, so that the breach betwixt him and the covenanted party who brought him in, was near become irreconcilable. But the consideration of the danger which might redound from the foreign enemy by occasion of this division, the concession of some propositions, together with the importunity of Montgomery, and the industry of some attendants about him, induced him to return back with the Major-General to St. Johnston's. And it was judged requisite to unite all parties (if possible) against the common enemy: to which purpose Huntly and Middleton were treated with, who refused to submit, and marched up within a mile of St.

Johnston's, where they had like to have been engaged by David Lesley. But upon some concessions (as to be admitted into places of trust, &c.) a treaty was concluded. One would have thought now the service against the common destroyer of their country would have been unanimously carried on; yet this reconciliation begat another feud (as if the zealots of this nation had been infatuated purposely for their own ruin). The Ministers of Stirling were so far from consenting to this treaty, that they past the sentence of excommunication upon Middleton, in defiance of the Estates at St. Johnston's, and being summoned thither to a general meeting to be held there, consisting of King, Lords, Barons, Burgesses, and Assembly of Ministers, to consult for the good and safety of the King, Kingdom, and Kirk, they refused, and advised the Estates to be at a greater distance from the King and his Council, and rather to come to Stirling. But at length with much ado they were brought to go to St. Johnston's. Much time had been lost in these fatal differences, and the public safety was neglected, whilst men minded the satisfaction of their own perverse and malicious humours. It was now highly requisite to look about them, and therefore Mid-

dleton was employed with a commission and instructions from his Majesty (who well enough understood that the safety of himself and that nation depended wholly on the unanimity of his subjects) to treat with some forces in the Highlands who still refused to submit.

The grand Assembly convene, and as the first evidences of concord divers Scotch Lords, formerly in disfavour with the Kirk, were received into the army or the Parliament, as Duke Hamilton, the Lords Lauderdale, Buchan, Leith, Dedup, Crawford; and of the English, Major-General Massey was admitted to a command in the army.

Colonel Kerre in the West of Scotland, who had stood off from all parties hitherto, at length so far complied with the Kirk-grandeers, that he took Straughan prisoner, who by Cromwell's inveiglement inclined to side with the English (a right Scot). But not long after Kerre was defeated and taken by Major-General Lambert; a just reward and consequence of his seditious discord. About the beginning of October, some gentlemen and others in Norfolk took arms against the tyranny of the pretended Parliament, declaring for the restitution of the ancient government of the land by a king and the laws;

but the county Militia and some forces from Lynn suddenly dispersed them, taking some whom afterward, by a solemn new way of murder first practised at Westminster upon the late King, and afterward in most places of England upon his friends, they put to death at Norwich. A little before this they likewise executed at Tyburn one Mr. Benson, for having been guilty of the same pretended treason with Colonel Eusebius Andrewes formerly beheaded.

On December the 24th, Edinburgh Castle, having endured a violent siege three months, surrendered to Cromwell, and so did other strong castles and places, as Nesbit, Berthwick, and Roswell, &c. so successful were their impious arms, by God's providence, who was pleased to use them as a scourge for these sinful nations.

Preparations in the mean time were made for the coronation of his Majesty, for the celebrating of which the first of January had been long before designed by the Estates. The place was the Town of Scoone, where one hundred and fifty Kings of that nation had formerly been crowned. Thither, therefore, his Majesty, with the nobility, barons, and burgesses in their robes, removed, the whole Scotch army standing all the way as a guard, making a lane between those

two places. The solemnity was performed with as much pomp and ceremony as the present state of things would permit, and with loud acclamations, bonfires, shooting of guns, &c. His Majesty having first heard a sermon preached by Mr. Robert Douglas, sitting upon a scaffold erected in the church of Scoone, took the ordinary coronation oath and subscribed the national covenant with the Solemn League and Covenant. After which he ascended upon a stage a little higher than the former, and sat down on the throne; when the people being demanded four times by the king-at-arms, "Whether they were willing to accept of King Charles for their king, and become subject to his commandments;" expressed their consent with loud acclamations, **GOD SAVE KING CHARLES THE SECOND.** This being done, his Majesty was clothed by the Lord-Chamberlain with his royal robes; the crown was set upon his head by the Marquess of Argyle, and the sceptre put into his hand, the sword was girt about him by the Earl-Marshall, and the spurs put on by the Earl of Eglington. Then the nobility being called by the herald, one by one swore allegiance and fealty to his Majesty, touching the crown upon his head with their right-hand, in these words,

“ By the Eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall support thee to the uttermost.” The people also holding up their hands swore obedience to his Majesty according to the usual oath. And to conclude all, an exhortatory oration was made by Mr. Robert Douglas and a prayer. Which being done his Majesty and the nobility departed out of the church in the former order and pomp, the Earl of Glencairn carrying the sword before him.

The ceremonies being thus ended, his Majesty and the nobility were entertained at a stately and magnificent dinner; which done, they all returned to St. Johnston's, in the same manner they came in; his Majesty's guard consisting of the sons of divers great Scotch lords and other members of Parliament, the captain whereof was the Lord of Lorne, son to Argyle. I have omitted the full relation of all the passages at his Majesty's inauguration, because they have been already frequently published, and lest they should add too much to the bulk of this volume.

This business being over, it behoved his Majesty to provide for the defence of his crown and kingdom; in order whereunto he set up his standard at Aberdeen, to which a considerable number of men in a short time repaired, of whom



himself was general; Duke Hamilton, lieutenant-general of the army; David Lesley, major-general; Middleton, lieutenant-general of the horse; and Massey, commander-in-chief of all the English forces.

The Parliament of Scotland which had adjourned during his Majesty's coronation, re-assembled about the beginning of March, and much contest there was for several Lords of the royal party to be admitted to their seats in the house; which, by reason of the opposition of the Kirk-assemblies at Stirling and Aberdeen, could not be obtained till they had passed *the stool of repentance*; which Duke Hamilton did with some kind of splendour, having a table placed before him covered with black velvet, with a cushion of the same, and making a great feast that day.

In this session a committee was appointed to consider of the state of affairs, and examine obstructions; by whom several persons that were found to hold correspondence with the English army had their estates sequestered, and some were tried for their lives; Argyle at the same time, and other covenanters lords, repining at the admission of the royal lords into the Parliament and army, as if they should thereby become

overpowered or utterly discarded. And indeed to these two pernicious qualities, treachery and particular ambition (peculiar almost to that nation), his Majesty's and that kingdom's ensuing misfortunes ought to be ascribed.

In the mean time his Majesty was very active in modelling his new army, whose rendezvous was at the east of Fife, encouraging them many times with his presence and speech. The English gain two very strong castles, Hume and Trimptallon, lying between Berwick and Edinburgh; the former by Colonel Fenwick, and the other by Colonel Monk. But to prevent their farther progress, his Majesty personally visited all the garrisons of Fife, and put them in a posture to hinder the English from landing on that side the Frith; after which he went to the Assembly at Abendeen to endeavour by his presence and authority to compose dissensions. And having taken this order at home, he employed the Earl of Dumferling ambassador into Holland, and Mr. Crofts into Russia; besides others into other nations, to solicit for assistance. Thus he acquitted himself as far as human prudence could reach; but abroad, his ambassadors received nothing but fruitless promises and empty compliments, among whom Sir Hen-

ry Hyde, lieger at Constantinople, had the worst fortune; for I know not upon what contest between him and Sir Thomas Bendish that lay there in behalf of the New State, Bendish got him into his hands, and sent him over into England, where (as other loyal subjects had formerly been) he was formally tried before a parcel of murderers in a pretended High Court of Justice, condemned, and beheaded near the Old Exchange in London, on March 4, 1650. A person he was of great parts, honesty, and loyalty. Of the same cup also, and from the same hands, tasted Captain Brown Bushel, an expert seaman, who had lately done notable service for his Majesty by sea. He was beheaded on Tower-Hill, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1651.

But to proceed; no considerations could unite the dissenting covenanted Scots; the clergy, like fire-brands, were as eager to ruin their country with their tongues, as the sectarian army could be with the sword; Guthry, Cant, Duram, Galespy, men of hot spirits, inflaming inconsiderable discontents to high outrages, as if a spirit of division had wholly possessed them, and so perverted their judgments, that petty animosities were prosecuted with greater zeal than the public cause. Malignants

it seems had commands given them, and grew potent; this was the ground of contest. Some covenanted Lords too, either for that they were kirk-ridden, or blinded with envy and ambition, began to be dissatisfied: whereupon Loudon was discharged from being Chancellor, and the Lord Burleigh substituted. This begat ill blood. The Earl of Sutherland assembled about five hundred men, and seemed to intend them upon another account. What course then should his Majesty take amidst this perverse nation? However, he omitted no means that the most prudent and diligent prince could use, as well to reconcile differences, as to complete his levies; to which purpose he obtained an act of the Parliament for levying fifteen thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. Soon after which the Parliament adjourned till the seventeenth of April, devolving the civil power in the mean time into the hands of a select council, and the military upon a committee of war, consisting of twenty persons chosen out of each of the Three Estates. Special care was taken about the fortifying of Stirling, the King himself going often to hasten the completing of them, and shortly after removed his court from St. Johnston's thither. The twenty-ninth of May, being his Ma-

jesty's birth-day, was solemnized with great rejoicing throughout Scotland; the Parliament adjourning, and his Majesty dining that day with most of the nobility at a great feast; and the Town of Dundee, to express their affections beyond all the rest, presented his Majesty with a rich tent, six field-pieces of ordnance, and advanced a brave regiment of horse for his service at their own charges. Meanwhile the English pursue their advantages, and Colonel Monk takes Blacknesse, a strong place between Edinburgh and Stirling, by surrender. Which loss was not so considerable as that of the Earl of Eglington (a person of eminent worth and authority), who, having been sent into the West with some other commanders to raise forces, and coming to Dunbarton to put his commission in execution, was there surprised by a party of horse, sent thither for that purpose by Colonel Lilburne, together with his son, Colonel James Montgomery, Lieutenant-Colonel Colburn, &c. and carried to Edinburgh.

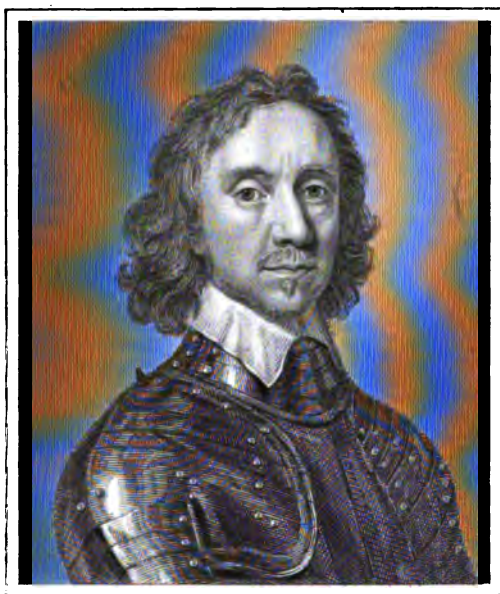
About this time also, the pretended Parliament of England, judging it advantageous to get into their power those lesser islands which held out for his Majesty, sent their General Blake to that of Scilly, who, with three hundred seamen

in a short space reduced the most important places in it.

The Parliament of Scotland being re-assembled at St. Johnston's after their adjournment, his Majesty sent a message to them, desiring, "1. That the act about the classes of Malignants might be repealed. 2. That no more mention might be made of the name of *Malignants* amongst them. 3. That Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Calendar and Seaforth, and others, might have full command in the army." These proposals, which were of high importance to the common safety, and consentaneous as well to religion as reason of state, were notwithstanding vehemently opposed by Argyle and the covenanted gang; yet the moderate party prevailed, and they were carried in the affirmative. And having passed these and the act of indemnity, and taken order for the pressing of men, they dissolved about the beginning of June. For the expediting the levies, Argyle, Huntly, and Seaforth, were dispatched away to their several territories. Cromwell in the mean time had been very sick, so that there passed little of action during that time; nor were the Scots willing to engage till their forces were completed. Major-General Massey had received instruction to fall

into England with the English horse and foot under his command, and, together with the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Wilmot, to join with a party in Lancashire, that were to rise for the King. The design was chiefly promoted at London by some of the Presbyterian Clergy, who held correspondence with Major-General Massey, and contributed divers sums of money to his assistance. But a ship bound for the Isle of Man being driven into Ayre in Scotland, was taken, and letters found in her which discovered the whole confederacy: whereupon the chief heads of it in London were apprehended, Mr. Cook, Gibbons, Love, Jenkins, Drake, and others; two of whom, *viz.* Mr. Love and Mr. Gibbons, had a formal trial before a pretended High Court of Justice, and were beheaded on Tower-Hill, August 22, 1651. The rest upon their repentance and supplications were afterward released. By this means the intended irruption and insurrection were frustrated.

Cromwell being now recovered from his sickness, and having contracted all his forces into a body by drawing in his out-guards or petty garrisons, and having received great supplies of ammunition from Berwick, and 80,000*l.* from the Junto by sea for his soldiers, resolved upon a



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speedy encounter. His forces consisted of fourteen regiments of horse, and twelve regiments of foot; six troops of dragoons, and sixteen pieces of ordnance. With these, about the latter end of June, he advances into Lithgow, and endeavoured to dare the Scots to an engagement, who lay strongly encamped at Torwood, within three miles of Stirling; but they thought fit to decline battle till their forces were completed. Wherefore to intercept their supplies of provision Colonel Overton was commanded with one thousand six hundred foot, and four troops of horse, to fall into the north of Fife; who accordingly embarking his men in small boats, landed them at the North Ferry in spite of all opposition: Cromwell himself in the mean time marching with his whole army close up to the Scots, intending to fall upon their rear in case they moved to disturb the enterprise. However, Major-General Sir John Brown and Major-General Holburn were dispatched to drive the English out of Fife again; but before they could come up to them, Lambert and Okey were joined by Overton with two regiments of horse and two of foot. And with this unexpected reinforcement, the English wholly defeated the Scots, killing two thousand upon the place, and

taking above one thousand two hundred prisoners, among whom was the commander-in-chief Major-General Brown, who did not long survive this loss, but died (as is conceived) of grief, having always approved himself to his Majesty a person of much fidelity and courage. This defeat was the bane of the Scotch affairs; for soon after the English took in garrisons almost as fast as they approached them. Brunt Island, and a strong Forth, called Innesgarvy, situate in an Isle lying in the Frith, were reduced by Major-General Lambert; and within a few days after, Cromwell took the Town of St. Johnston's after one day's siege, by surrender. This prodigious success caused his Majesty to alter his counsels, and design an irruption into England, which was resolved upon out of probable hopes that many of his loyal subjects there would betake themselves to his assistance when they understood he was at the head of an army in it. This indeed was a desperate course, but (according to that of the great Physician) what matters it whether the remedy be desperate when there is but one? Scotland was in a manner already lost, the army he had levied were raw inexperienced men, and all the garrisons round about were possessed by the enemy,

whose forces were far more numerous, and better provided of ammunition and able horses, and besides had been animated by frequent victories, and the spoil of such places as they had taken. Possibly in England his Majesty might soon have forces competent to match them ; at least he should not be beset with so many difficulties, and one fortunate field might wholly turn the scale. Accordingly, upon Thursday July 31, 1651, all things being in readiness, the Scotch army left their camp at Stirling (which was soon after delivered to Lieutenant-General Monk), and the sixth day after, being about sixteen thousand, entered England by the way of Carlisle. Upon intelligence of this sudden march, Cromwell's army (of which the greatest part was in Fife) forthwith crossed the Frith, and first Lambert was sent with five regiments of horse and dragoons to fall upon the Scots' rear ; Cromwell himself soon after (August 6) followed with eight regiments of foot, two of horse, and eight great guns, having left six thousand horse and foot with Lieutenant-General Monk, to reduce the remaining garrisons of Scotland. Major-General Harrison, being advanced the nearest England, with three thousand horse and dragoons attended the motion of the Scotch army,

and the Westminster Junto suddenly bestirred themselves to raise the Militia of the whole nation, and make an act to forbid all relief and succour to be given to his Majesty, or his forces, under penalty of high-treason. Immediately the militias of most counties were drawn into the field against him; and for the hindering of his progress, two thousand of the county militia of Staffordshire, and four thousand out of Lancashire and Cheshire, under Colonel Birch, joined with Lambert and Harrison, whose first attempt upon the royal army, was at Warrington-Bridge, the passage of which was very sharply disputed, but at length gained by the Scots, with the loss of some men. In the mean time a party in Wales began to rise for the King, intending to have joined with the Earl of Derby from the Isle of Man; but the design was crushed before it came to any thing. The march of the Scotch army was managed with extreme civility to the people as they passed, no soldier daring to plunder or steal the least thing whatever, having been terrified by the punishment of one of their number, who was shot to death for entering an orchard. But as this carriage of theirs, together with his Majesty's invitations, did not so prevail upon the

people to come in to him as he expected, so by the way fear deprived him of about the fourth part of the army he brought out of Scotland. It was deliberated by his Majesty's council whether or no to march forthwith to London; but the way was too tedious, and the soldiers were much wearied with their journey already; and it was hoped the interest Major-General Massey had in Gloucestershire would procure a confluence of men from those parts. As soon as the army entered England, and afterward at every market-town, his Majesty was proclaimed King of England, by an Englishman whom he had created King at Arms, with much satisfaction of the country. However, such was the fate of these nations, for the punishment of whose sins a severe yoke was reserved by Providence (for I know not what apparent reason to ascribe their actions to on this occasion), that instead of assisting their just and lawful prince, they arose generally in arms against him. The Lord Fairfax (who till then had been believed sensible of some remorse for his former proceedings) appeared in the field with a formidable body to flank the royal army as they marched; London poured out her numerous militia; and the adjacent counties were by strict order of Parliament

enjoined to set out horse and men at their own charges. The King in the mean time received no considerable supply, saving one troop of horse, commanded by a noble young gentleman Sir Cecil Howard, son to the Lord Howard of Esericke. Nevertheless there wanted not courage in the breasts of the nobility and gentry with his Majesty, whose great resolutions made them hope even in the midst of despair. From Tong Norton his Majesty sent a trumpeter with a letter and summons to Colonel Mackworth, Governor of Shrewsbury, which I shall venture to insert with the answer. His Majesty's letter was in these words:—

“ Colonel Mackworth. Having sent you herewith a summons to render into my hands my Town with the Castle of Shrewsbury; I cannot but persuade myself you will do it, when I consider you a gentleman of an ancient house, and of very different principles (as I am informed) from those with whom your employment ranks you at present. If you shall peaceably deliver them unto me, I will not only pardon what is past, and protect you and yours in your persons and all that belongs to you, but reward so eminent and seasonable a testimony of your loyalty with future trust and favour, and do leave it to

yourself to propose the particular, being upon that condition ready to grant you presently any thing you shall reasonably desire, and to approve myself your friend. C. R.”

The summons also which accompanied this letter was to the same effect. But whether the Governor looked upon his Majesty’s condition as too forlorn to engage on his side, or acted really out of an hostile principle, I will not determine; but the answer he returned to his sovereign lord the King was in the following terms directed :—

“ *To the Commander-in-Chief of the Scottish army.*

“ Sir, By your trumpeter I received two papers, the one containing a proposition, the other a direct summons for the rendition of the Town and Castle of Shrewsbury, the custody whereof I have received by authority of Parliament. And if you believe me a gentleman (as you say you do), you may believe I will be faithful to my trust, to the violation whereof neither allurements can persuade me, nor threatenings of force, especially when but paper ones, compel me. What principles I am judged to be of, I know not; but I hope they are such, as shall declare me honest, and no way differing herein



(as I know) from those engaged in the same employment with me, who should they desert the cause they are embarked in, I resolve to be found, as I am, unremoveable; the faithful servant of the Commonwealth of England,

“H. MACKWORTH.”

About the same time also his Majesty sent the like summons to Sir Thomas Middleton, Governor of Chirk Castle in Shropshire; but this gentleman was not altogether so civil as the former; for, instead of returning any answer at all, he caused the messenger to be seized and sent away prisoner to Wrexham, who was afterward hanged at Chester for this service.

It having been resolved upon debate by his Majesty's Council rather to march westward than towards London, his army accordingly entered the city of Worcester upon Friday the twenty-second of August, 1651, after one or two repulses by the forces that kept the city; the inhabitants not only not opposing the Scots' entrance, but helping to beat the English soldiers out. In his Majesty's march hither he had sent a copy of his declaration (in which he offered pardon to all that would return to their allegiance) enclosed in a gracious letter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London,

which by order of the usurping Junto at Westminster was on the twenty-sixth of August publicly burned at the Old Exchange by the hangman. And a day or two after, at a muster of fourteen thousand men in Moorfields, the insolent Speaker, Lenthall, repaired thither, and caused a fellow with a link to burn a copy of his Majesty's declaration at the head of every regiment.

On Saturday the twenty-third of August his Majesty was there proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, by Mr. Thomas Lisens, mayor, and Mr. James Bridges, sheriff of the city, with the great acclamations and joy of the loyal citizens. And on the same day also his Majesty sent abroad a declaration, given at his City of Worcester, for summoning all the neighbouring nobility, gentry, and others, from sixteen years of age to sixty, upon their allegiance, to appear in their persons with horse and arms at Pitchcroft, on Tuesday following, the twenty-sixth of August, where his Majesty would be present. On which accordingly appeared at the said rendezvous these loyal persons following, Francis Lord Talbot (now Earl of Shrewsbury) with about sixty horse, Mervin Touchet, Esq. Sir John Packington, Sir Walter Blunt,

Sir Ralph Clare, Ralph Sheldon of Beoly, Esq. John Washburn of Witchingford, Esq. with forty horse, Thomas Acton, Esq. Robert Blount of Kentswick, Esq. Robert Wigmore of Lucton, Esq. Thomas Hornyold of Blackmore Park, Esq. with forty horse, Francis Knotsford, Esq. and divers others.

The works of this City had for the most part been slighted awhile before, and therefore all endeavours were used to fortify it again. About two or three days before the King's arrival at Worcester, the Earl of Derby landed at Weywater, in Lancashire, with two hundred and fifty foot and sixty horse from his Isle of Man; which leaving with the King he returned into that county, and by his interest in it got together a body of one thousand five hundred men, with which he was hastening to Manchester to join with five hundred more, and would probably have increased his forces in a short time to a greater number. But Colonel Lilburn being ordered to prevent him with three regiments and some horse out of Cheshire, was forced to an engagement by the Earl; out of a purpose to hinder him from joining with other forces which were sent against him. The contest was sharp and doubtful for an hour, till at length

the Earl's forces were put to flight, and himself being wounded, narrowly escaped to Worcester; several persons of quality were slain of his party, as the Lord Widdrington, Sir Thomas Tilsley, Colonel Trollop, Colonel Galliard, with some others of good note: among the taken were Major-General Sir William Throckmorton, Sir Timothy Featherstonhaugh, Colonel Matthew Bointon, Major Chester, Colonel Richard Legg, Colonel John Robinson, Colonel Ratclif Gerard, besides other officers (some of which soon after died of their wounds), four hundred private soldiers were taken with all the arms and ammunition, the Earl's George, garter, and three cloaks with stars, and about sixty slain. The Earl of Derby and Colonel Roscarrock, after this overthrow, which was on the twenty-fifth of August, by the assistance of one Mr. Snead and one Mr. Elliot got to his Majesty at Worcester; where nevertheless his Majesty and the forces with him were resolute against all disasters; the fortifications were carried on with all possible diligence, and the mount at the south-east end of the town strongly secured.

On the other side the Parliament by their new levies had increased their forces to a prodigious number, which, as their own writers

record, amounted to above eighty thousand. About three days after the former victory Cromwell marched up before Worcester with seventeen thousand horse and foot, besides the parties under the Lord Grey of Groby, Lambert, and Harrison, which in all made up above thirty thousand men. The first encounter was at Upton-Bridge, seven miles from Worcester, which the Royalists had broken upon news of their coming, only one plank (either through negligence or treachery) was left of it; over which Lambert passed some redcoats, who perceiving the Scots, took the alarm and fled into a church. Whereupon Major-General Massey gave a camisado to the church; but in the mean time Lambert having passed over a supply of horse, fell upon the back of the royalists, and overpowering them put them to a retreat, which was performed by Major-General Massey with much gallantry, who was in the rear, sometimes marching off and sometimes fighting, till he escaped to Worcester; in which service he received a shot in the arm and his horse was slain under him.

After this the enemies disposed themselves in the manner they conceived most convenient to strengthen the town. To which purpose Fleetwood having left a sufficient force to secure the

pass at Upton, approached nearer the City, and Cromwell gave orders for two bridges to be made, the one of boats over Severn under Bunhill, a mile below the City, and the other over Teame, a lesser river that falls into Severn; and this for the better conjunction of the army.

On the twenty-ninth of August, Cromwell faced the City with a great body of horse and foot, but drew off again and attempted nothing.

But on Saturday, August 30, it was resolved by his Majesty at a council of war, to beat up the enemy's quarters that night with one thousand five hundred choice horse and foot, commanded by Major-General Middleton and Sir William Keyth, all of them wearing their shirts over their armour for distinction: the result was accordingly put in execution, and might in all probability have proved importantly successful, had not the design been most traitorously discovered to the enemy by one Guyes, a tailor in the City, who was rewarded with a halter for his treachery; but the Westminster Junto, to shew how affectionately they regarded base and treacherous actions, gave Guyes' wife 200*l.* down and 200*l.* per annum during her life. This sally was made with much gallantry and resolution; but the enemy having received intelligence of

the design, were in readiness to receive the Royalists ; and nevertheless were unable to bear the shock, till bringing on successively fresh forces, their number constrained the assailants to retire. In this action Major Knox was slain, and some few made prisoners.

In this condition was his Majesty at Worcester, having about ten thousand Scots and two thousand English with him, and surrounded with a numerous army of three to one in an ill-fortified City: which odds, being considered, I presume no rational man will account it a miracle for the better cause and lesser number to be worsted by the greater. The hearts of the besieged were as courageous as those of their enemies, and no doubt burdened with less guilt. They were also animated by the example of his Majesty's heroical resolution, who determined not to be behind any of his party in danger. And now the fatal day appeared, the third of September, on which the year before the Scots were so considerably overthrown at Dunbar; which defeat occasioned the loss of that kingdom.

In the morning his Majesty held a council of war upon the top of the College-Church steeple, the better to view in what manner the enemy

lay. From whence perceiving the enemy's new bridges, and a kind of a skirmish at Powick-Bridge, he forthwith commanded all to their arms, and marched thither himself, where he gave order for the making good of that pass and opposing that of the enemy over the Severn. Soon after his return to the City, the enemy assaulted Powick-Bridge furiously, which was valiantly defended by a brigade of horse and foot under Major-General Robert Montgomery and Colonel George Keith, till the former being dangerously wounded and his ammunition spent, was forced to retire disorderly into Worcester, and the latter was taken prisoner by the enemy.

This place being won, there was no time to deliberate longer. Wherefore it was resolved to engage Cromwell forthwith, who lay at Perry-Wood, within a mile of Worcester. The onset was given with a great deal of fury by the Royalists, insomuch that Cromwell's invincible life-guard was unable to bear the shock and compelled to give ground in some disorder; their great guns also were for some time in the power of the Royalists. The rebel commanders had put the new-raised county forces to bear the first brunt of the encounter, of whom the Royalists made a horrible slaughter.



His Majesty himself led up the Scotch foot in this battle, and that with so much courage and gallantry, that his inveterate enemy Cromwell could not but applaud his valour. The fight continued for the space of three or four hours very sharp and fierce, during which his Majesty had his horse twice shot under him, and rallied the infantry himself; until by the successive supplies of fresh forces they were in a manner all lost. The rebels had great advantage, not only in being more numerous, but fighting both with horse and foot, against his Majesty's foot only; for the Scotch horse did not engage at all in this encounter, which some impute to the treachery of David Lesley, who, in the mean time commanded a brave body of horse to stand still, and look on the ruin of their King and fellow-subjects, threatening the first man that stirred with death. For the truth of which relation I dare not undertake; but it is certain the Scotch horse under Lesley were scarce any more than spectators of the battle; nor is it incredible but that treachery might be practised by a Scot, and money employed by Cromwell for conquest as well as force. The remainder of the forlorn royal army being put to flight, were pursued into the town by the victors; his Ma-

jesty was one of the last in the field, and could hardly be persuaded to outlive that day.

At Sudbury-Gate, through which the routed Royalists fled, an ammunition waggon was overthrown and lay cross the passage, so that his Majesty was enforced to alight and enter into the City on foot. In the Fryers' street he took a fresh horse, and perceiving many of his foot throw down their arms and decline fighting, he rode up and down among them, sometimes with his hat in his hand, entreating them to stand to their arms, and sell their lives as dear as they could. But seeing his encouragements ineffectual, he said, "I had rather you would shoot me than keep me alive to see the sad consequences of this fatal day." Nevertheless, the Earl of Cleveland, Sir James Hamilton, Colonel William Carlis (then Major to the Lord Talbot), and some officers, rallied what force they could (which was unproportionable to that of the assailants), and gave a check to the enemy as they were entering in at Sudbury-Gate, and valiantly disputed that street with them: which action was very important to secure his Majesty's flight. In the mean time Fleetwood's men were on the other side of the City masters of St. John's, and having wholly dispersed all opposers,

fell to plunder. As soon as Cromwell had made his way into Sudbury-Street, whilst some of his forces were furiously killing and slaying all that were in the streets, he hastened with some regiments to the Fort-Royal, commanded by Colonel Drummond, where he found courageous opposition, and lost three hundred Cheshire men; but at length reducing it with twice the number of the defenders, he put every man of them to the sword, to the number of one thousand five hundred. Then was there seen the saddest spectacle that human imagination is capable to conceive, the streets being all strewed with carcases and covered with blood, houses broken open and pillaged, and the whole town filled with the noise of the insolent victors and the cries of the poor inhabitants; till having satiated their cruelties and rapacious desires, or rather tired themselves with barbarous executions and inhumanities, they began to think of securing prisoners. The slain were reckoned about four thousand, amongst whom was Duke Hamilton, who being taken, died soon after of his wounds, a very noble, courageous, and loyal person, and worthy of immortal fame. The prisoners taken in the battle and in the City were about seven thousand; in which number were the Earls of



WILLIAM D'AMBOISE OF CANADA.

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Carnwarth, Rothes, Kelly, the Lord Sinclair, Sir John Packington, Major-General Montgomery, Major-General Pitscotty, Mr. Richard Fanshaw, his Majesty's Secretary, the General of the Ordnance, the Adjutant-General of the foot, and the Marshal-General; besides several colonels and other inferior officers, one hundred and fifty-eight colours (which, together with those taken the year before at Dunbar, were hung up in Westminster-Hall), the King's standard, his collar of Ss., coach and horses, with other things of great value.

How many of the rebels fell in this fight we have no credible relation; their own pamphlets mention only the loss of Quartermaster-General Mosely, Captain Jones, and about two hundred common soldiers and three hundred wounded, among whom was Charles Howard, afterward captain of Cromwell's life-guard, and another captain.

This is the truest and most impartial account I can meet with of this remarkable overthrow, which was then looked upon as the decision of the cause between king and commonwealth. But it pleased God that in this great loss *the Fortune of England* was preserved, whose blood was the only thing wanting to cement the foundations of

the new republic. The manner of his Majesty's escape was in a strict sense not miraculous, yet as near a miracle as almost any thing that is barely possible by natural means. Certainly, he that shall deliberately consider the paucity of such of the nobility as escaped the fury of the fight, and diligence of the pursuers (of all the Lords there, only the Duke of Buckingham and the renowned Lord Wilmot getting undiscovered beyond sea), the instruments of his Majesty's preservation, such whom indigence or fear might have induced to prefer reward or security before faithfulness to a prince, who in all human probability was unlikely ever to requite them for their dangerous loyalty; and the places where his Majesty was concealed, in the midst of his enemies, and in such counties as had raised most men against him in this unfortunate expedition; he, I say, that shall consider no more but this, will no doubt think himself obliged to adore the Divine Providence, which never owned the royal cause more apparently than in this deliverance, and which at the same time fastened the yoke of slavery upon the necks of these nations, and by an extraordinary goodness preserved the person from destruction by whom alone their lost estate was

possible to be restored. Many are the relations of the manner of his Majesty's escape, and at this day almost as various and different in published histories, as the conjectures and rumours of people were immediately after it. I shall endeavour to offer what the most credible authors and reports have delivered concerning this particular, for obtaining the exact knowledge of which I have omitted no industry that might gratify the curiosity which possesses all the world touching so extraordinary a providence. It seems not yet convenient to a noble person instrumental in it to discover all the circumstances of it, though she is pleased to put us in hopes of obtaining that favour from her after some short time. In the meanwhile, it is desired the readers would receive at least with a like candour what we have taken pains to find out for their satisfaction, as the relation of those who make truth the least of their care, and promiscuously take up any slight reports upon trust.

But to return to our purpose. His Majesty having kept the field till all was lost, and being pursued to the town-gates (while the victorious enemies were disputing Sudbury-street in Worcester with the Earl of Cleveland, Sir James



Hamilton, Colonel William Carlis, and some other resolute and courageous Royalists), he marched out at St. Martin's-Gate about six o'clock in the evening, with the main body of horse, which had not engaged to any purpose, but yet were in much confusion. When he was come to Barbon's-Bridge, about half a mile out of Worcester, he made several stands, and moved the lords and officers with him that they might rally and try the fortune of another fight; but many of the troopers being observed to throw off their arms and shift for themselves, there was no encouragement to proceed in that course. Whereupon, the chief and only care was to preserve his Majesty's person from the hands of those blood-thirsty sectaries, who accounted it the interest of their religion and new state to murder him. To which purpose it was resolved to march for Scotland, and one Walker (formerly scoutmaster to Colonel Sands) undertook to be the guide; but being come as far as Kni-ver-Heath, not far from Kidderminster, and daylight being gone, the guide was at a loss which way to go. Upon which his Majesty, making a stand, and being almost spent with his extraordinary action in the field, and the wearisomeness of his flight, advised with some lords whi-

ther he might march, only to take some few hours rest. The Earl of Derby told his Majesty, that in his flight from Wigan to Worcester (after he had been defeated by Lilburn) he had met with a very faithful person and great convenience of concealment at a place called Boscobel House.

This house is seated in Shropshire, but upon the confines of Staffordshire, and lies between Tong-Castle and Brewood ; it is a very obscure habitation though a fair building, and standing in a very lovely grove, was therefore so called from *Bosco bello*, which in Italian signifies *Fair-wood* ; it belongs to one Mr. Fitz-Herbert, though himself lived not in it at that time. Thither his Majesty resolved to go, being accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Derby and Lauderdale, the Lords Talbot and Wilmot, the Colonels Thomas Blague, Edward Roscarrock, and Mr. Marmaduke Darcy, Richard Lane, William Armorer (since knighted), Hugh May, Peter Street, and Charles Giffard, who undertook to conduct them by the assistance of Francis Yates his servant, and one very expert in the ways of that country. Lieutenant-General Lesley with his Scotch horse in

the close of the evening took the direct way northward by Newport.

His Majesty and his train upon deliberation marched through Sturbridge, a considerable town in Staffordshire; but the better to prevent discovery order was given for all persons to speak only the French language. Boscobel was the place intended; but that the company might not know so much, his Majesty was conducted by Mr. Giffard to a house within half a mile of it, called White-Ladies, which name it has retained ever since it was a monastery of Cistercian nuns, who were habited in white. Here they arrived about three o'clock in the morning, having rid twenty-six miles from Worcester; and being entered into the house, which was kept only by servants, a consultation was held how to escape the fury of the blood-thirsty enemies: the result of which was, that all possible care should be taken for his Majesty's concealment in that place till he could have a safe opportunity to waft over into France, and that his retinue of loyal lords and gentlemen should shift for themselves some other way. In the mean time the servant that kept Boscobel House, called William Penderel, was sent for,

and a brother of his named Richard Penderel, who lived near at hand at Hobbal Grange. Who being come, and conjured to fidelity, the next course taken was to disguise his Majesty's person. This was done by blacking his face and hands, cutting off his hair, and exchanging his buff coat and gray breeches richly laced for a doe-skin doublet and green breeches of Richard Penderel's. His Majesty, as he undressed himself, gave a spanner-string, being a gold chain worth 300*l.* to a servant of his then ready to depart. His clothes were buried under ground for a long time after.

And now it behoved his loyal followers to forsake him, which they did with sad hearts, being more sensible of his Majesty's hard fate, than solicitous what destiny attended themselves, only the Lord Wilmot stayed, and was conveyed by John Penderel to Mr. Whitgreave's. Time it was for them to depart, for within half an hour after, some of Colonel Ashenhurst's troop, who quartered at Cotsal, three miles distant, came to the house. But before that, Richard Penderel had conducted his Majesty out at a back-door into a wood belonging to Boscobel House, called Spring Coppice, in the borders of which William, Humphry, and George (three of Rich-

ard's brothers), scouted about to bring intelligence.

The lords and their company, being about forty horse (of which number his Majesty's pad-nag was one, and ridden by Mr. Lane, one of the bedchamber), took the north road to Newport, in hopes to have overtaken or met General Lesley, who was gone that way with the main body of Scotch horse. But they had not travelled far before a party of the Parliamentarians, who were in pursuit of the Lord Leviston (captain of his Majesty's life-guard), overtook them. The lords resolutely faced about and stopped their speed, some of the pursuers being slain and the rest put to flight. Nevertheless they had no long contentment in this good success; for a little beyond Newport, some of Colonel Lilburn's men met them in the front, and another party of Parliamentarians from Worcester fell in upon their rear; so that themselves and horses being extremely tired with the former days' service and the long and hasty march of the night without the least refreshment or succour, the noble Earl of Derby, and the Earl of Lauderdale, with Mr. Giffard, their guide, and some others, were taken prisoners. The Earl of Derby was carried to Chester, and there tried

by a Junto of Officers, and sentenced to be beheaded at Bolton in Lancashire. The Earl of Lauderdale was carried to Windsor Castle, and there kept prisoner for many years. Mr. Giffard escaped not long after from an inn in Bunbury, in Cheshire. In this conflict the Duke of Buckingham, with the Lord Leviston, Colonel Blague, Mr. Darcy, and Mr. May, fled into a by-road, and got into Chessardine Woods near Newport: and there the Duke by the assistance of two honest labourers put himself into a disguise, and was by one Nathaniel Matthews, a carpenter, conveyed to the house of a loyal gentleman, Mr. Hawley, at Bilstrop, in Nottinghamshire, from whence he went to the Lady Villiers's house at Brooksby, in Leicestershire, and at length after various difficulties got secure to London, and passed into France. The Lord Leviston, and the other three gentlemen, having quitted their horses, were concealed in little cottages by some loyal countrymen, till they had means to escape beyond the seas. The Lord Talbot, after the routing of the noble company, hastened towards his father's house at Longford near Newport, where he was by Providence preserved in an out-house from being discovered by some of the enemy's forces who had pursued

him thither, and searched the house four days together. These were the several fates of those noble persons that accompanied his Majesty in his flight. Let us now return to the place where we left his sacred person, in the midst of Spring Coppice, near Boscobel House, on Thursday morning, September the 4th, having a wood-bill in his hand, and accompanied only with Richard Penderel, three other of the brothers being vigilant to descry the approach of passengers. It happened to be a very rainy day, so that the trees afforded not sufficient shelter to keep his Majesty from the inconvenience of the wet, nor was there any thing for him to sit on, till Richard stepped to a neighbour's for a blanket, which served for both uses. He also caused the wife of Francis Yates (above mentioned) to provide something for his Majesty to eat, and bring it into the wood. The fare was such as the time and place afforded : a mess of milk and sugar, some eggs, and a dish of butter. His Majesty being something surprised at the presence of the woman that brought his dinner, said to her, " Good woman, can you be faithful to a distressed Cavalier ?" To which she answered very heartily,—“ Yes, Sir, I will rather die than discover you :” which words gave his Majesty

great satisfaction. When night was come, his Majesty went with these Corydons to Richard's house at Hobbal Grange, where their old mother was overjoyed to see his Majesty in safety, and that her sons had the happiness to be instrumental to it. Further care was forthwith taken to disguise his Majesty, and he took upon him the name of William Jones, and pretended to be a woodcutter newly come thither to work ; and this, to the end he might be unsuspected by the rest of the family. The good mother prepared his Majesty a cleanly fricassee of bacon and eggs, part of which being eaten by him, and the rest by the rustics, his Majesty set forth with Richard Penderel on foot for Wales, intending to go that night to the house of an honest gentleman of Richard's acquaintance, at Madely in Shropshire, five miles from White-Ladies. When they had gone about two miles, an accident befel them wherewith they were in some fear. For as they were passing Evelin Mill, the Miller, who had then in his custody some considerable Royalists, hearing some persons pass by, came out and demanded, "Who is there?" to which no answer was given, but his Majesty and his conductor immediately left the way and waded through a brook, which somewhat assuaged the



galling of his feet; and so they got free of the Miller, who was on the other side no less fearful of them. As they passed through the water his Majesty was in some danger of losing his guide, had he not been directed by the rustling of his calves-skin breeches (as he afterward pleasantly observed), it being an extreme dark night. At midnight they got to Mr. Woolf's house, and were by him heartily entertained. But the frequent passing of the enemy's forces through that town, and consequently the likelihood of their coming to quarter at that house, made this gentleman apprehend it unsafe for his Majesty to lodge in it, and therefore he secured him and his servant Richard in a hay-mow. During their stay Mr. Woolf had intelligence brought him by a trusty servant (sent abroad to that end), that all the bridges over the Severn were kept by guards of the enemy's, and all the passage-boats seized on. Whereupon by his advice, having spent all that day (Friday) in the barn, and being refreshed at evening in the house (where Mrs. Woolf also made him a lotion for his hands with boiled walnut-tree leaves), he departed about eleven o'clock at night for Boscobel House, where he arrived about three on Saturday morning. Colonel Carlis (whom we

formerly mentioned with honour for sustaining the brunt of the enemy in Sudbury-street in Worcester till his Majesty got out of the town) was fled into these parts, near which he was born (namely at Bromhall in Staffordshire, within two miles of Boscobel), and having lain in the wood for some time, was come that morning to the said house to get some relief of his old acquaintance, William Penderel; and by this means his Majesty and the Colonel met together there, where congratulations being passed, they were entertained with rustic fare, as bread and cheese, and a posset, and care taken for refreshing his Majesty's feet, which were much surbated and galled with travel. After which his Majesty and the Colonel, conceiving the house less safe than the wood, accordingly betook themselves thither, and, by the help of the Corydons, climbed into a large oak, the thickness of whose leaves sufficiently concealed them from being discerned by any spectator from below. Upon this oak, being accommodated with two pillows and some mean fare, they continued all the day, his Majesty leaning in the Colonel's lap, and taking some slumbering rest, of which he had had little or none the two preceding nights; and in the mean time some of the loyal-

hearted country people hovered near the place, and others went abroad to get intelligence.

During his Majesty's journey to Mr. Woolf's, at Madely, the Lord Wilmot, understanding his departure from White-Ladies, removed from Mr. Whitgreave's house, at Mosely, to that of Colonel John Lane, at Bently, near Walsal, south-east from Mosely about four miles, and intended to make use of an offer made him by Mrs. Jane Lane, the Colonel's sister, to accompany her to Bristol, in order to his escape beyond sea, she having by accident procured a pass from a Parliamentary officer for herself and a man to go thither to see her sister, who was then near her time of lying-in.

His Majesty and the Colonel descended from the oak at evening, and entered into Boscobel House, where William Penderel shewed his Majesty the secret place in which the Earl of Derby had been concealed after his overthrow at Wigan, which the King liked so well, that he resolved to make his abode in it, till further opportunity were offered for his escape beyond sea, and not to go more to the Royal Oak, which afforded less convenience. Humphry Penderel, the miller, had been that day at Shefnal, a Town a few miles distant, where he was exa-



WILLIAM PEPYS

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mined by a Parliamentary Colonel (who had heard of the King's having been at White-Ladies), and threatened with the penalty of concealing his Majesty's person, which was death without mercy, and withal informed that the Junto propounded 1000*l.* for a reward to any that should discover him. But this true-hearted person was proof against all temptations to disloyalty, and related this passage to his Majesty at night : who having been entertained with a dish of chickens, took up his lodging upon a pallet in the secret place. On the Sunday morning, his Majesty being desirous of some mutton for that day's food, and all other ways being dangerous, Colonel Carlis, with the help of William Penderel, borrowed a sheep out of the neighbouring flock, part of which his Majesty and the Colonel together cut into collops, and cooked it in a frying-pan for their own repast ; after which his Majesty spent some part of the day in reading, in a handsome retired arbour in the garden, the loyal brethren in the mean time scouting abroad for intelligence. And whether it were through particular providence, or for that it was known that only some servants kept Boscobel House, the same was never searched all the time of his Majesty's abode there, but

White-Ladies, upon a credible report his Majesty had been there, often. On the same day his Majesty sent to inform the Lord Wilmot where he was ; who thereupon desired to meet his Majesty that night at a place appointed in a field near Mr. Whitgreave's house at Mosely, which lay in the mid-way, viz. five miles on the one side from Boscobel, and five miles on the other from Colonel Lane's house at Bently. His Majesty being disabled by his former travel on foot, was forced to make use of Humphry Penderel's mill-horse (which was suitably accoutred to go thither), leaving behind him the faithful and renowned Colonel Carlis, who heartily prayed for his Majesty's preservation. Upon the way his Majesty was attended by the five loyal brothers, William, John, Richard, Humphry, and George Penderel, and Francis Yates, each of them being armed with a good bill or pikestaff, and some with pistols, intending to have used the same in case they should have met with a number not too great. Two of them marched before, and one on each side of his Majesty's horse ; the other two at a distance behind : and they took all the by-ways they could. His Majesty being arrived at the place appointed, met one Mr. Huddleston, an honest

gentleman, there ready to conduct him into Mr. Whitgreave's house. But before he entered he gave William, Humphry, and George, the honour to kiss his hand; and thanking them for their fidelity, with promises to reward it, if it pleased God, he dismissed them with the horse. My Lord Wilmot testified extreme joy at the sight of his Majesty, who also embraced him, and after some refreshment given to his Majesty, and civil expressions which he was pleased to use towards the two loyal gentlemen, Mr. Whitgreave and Mr. Huddleston, he was conducted to the secret place intended for his lodging, which was more secure than commodious for his rest. Before the Lord Wilmot betook himself to his repose, he consulted with the two gentlemen concerning the watching of all avenues, that timely notice might be given of the approach of any soldiers. "And if it should so fall out (said he) the rebels have intelligence of your harbouring any of the King's party, and should therefore put you to any torture for confession, be sure you discover me first, which may perhaps stop their farther search, and preserve the King." Such was the heroic generosity of that noble lord, and his superlative affection to his Prince.



On the afternoon of the next day notice was given to Mr. Whitgreave that some soldiers were in the neighbourhood with intention to apprehend him for having been with his Majesty at Worcester. This was a very surprising alarm. But Mr. Whitgreave forthwith secured his royal guest, who had laid upon Mr. Huddleston's bed, and the Lord Wilmot in the secret place; and then setting open all the chamber-doors, went boldly down to the soldiers, convincing them by the testimony of his neighbours, that he had not been from his own house in the last fortnight. Wherewith the soldiers being satisfied went not up stairs at all; and so this imminent danger was escaped. The same night the Lord Wilmot repaired to Colonel Lane's at Bently, in order to his Majesty's going thither also; and during his absence his Majesty spent the next day in conversation with Mr. Huddleston, in which he intimated to him that his counsels had been by some treacherous instruments very often discovered to the rebels before they were put in execution by his loyal subjects. At midnight Colonel Lane came from Bently to attend his Majesty thither; whereupon he took leave of Mrs. Whitgreave, saluting her and giving her thanks for his entertainment:

he expressed himself also with much gratitude to Mr. Whitgreave and Mr. Huddleston, advising them to be very careful of avoiding the dangers which might ensue to them in case they should be discovered to have been instrumental in his concealment, and therefore directed them to a merchant in London, to receive monies for their transportation beyond sea, if they thought fit. And, lastly, he promised them to remember their civilities and fidelity to him, whenever it should please God to restore him to his dominions. Such was the goodness of this excellent Prince, and his care for the preservation of his preservers. After this his Majesty gave them his hand to kiss, and they returned him their zealous prayers and wishes for his safety. His Majesty being safely arrived at Bently, staid there but a short time, but took the opportunity of Mrs. Jane Lane's pass, and rode before her to Bristol, in the quality of her servant, the Lord Wilmot riding for the most part at some distance from them. There his Majesty hoped to have gotten convenience of transportation into France ; but his expectations failed him : for no master of a vessel durst undertake to waft over any single person, unless he knew certainly beforehand what he were : so that it being a

town of great resort, his Majesty was enforced to depart from it. Whither he went afterward is not hitherto certainly known; nor has it pleased his Majesty or that Lady to discover to any. Several passages are written to have happened, endangering his discovery both at Bristol and elsewhere; but the relators have not the least ground for any of them, and have rather chosen to gratify vulgar readers with impertinent fictions, than to confess their ignorance of that which they did not and cannot yet know. The loyal Lady, in all her journies with his Majesty, comported herself with extraordinary prudence and fidelity, expressing her observance as often as opportunity safely permitted it; and at other times acting her part in the disguise with much caution and discretion. A farther relation of his Majesty's progress in England, and the manner of his transportation into France, as soon as it comes to our hands from the honourable person who, besides his Majesty, is now alone able to impart it, shall be presented to the world. In the mean time I am glad I can record that he took ship at Brighthelmpston, in Sussex, about the end of October, 1651, and having by the Divine Providence escaped the greatest dangers imaginable in England, and some too upon the sea,

landed safely at Dieppe, in Normandy, where he staid not, but went forthwith to Roan, and from thence dispatched letters to Paris to give notice of his arrival ; and in the interim was furnished with accommodations befitting his quality by the Duke of Longueville. Intelligence of his safe arrival being brought to Paris, the Duke of Orleans, his Majesty's noble and generous uncle, sent his own coach for him, which met him on the way as far as Magny, and coming nearer the city, he was met by a company of nobles and gentlemen, and conducted to the Louvre. Entertainment was there forthwith provided for him, and the Queen his mother, and the Duke of Orleans, visited him the same night. The next day also the Duke of Orleans, and Mademoiselle his daughter, visited him together with the Dukes of Beaufort and Guise, Marshal Turenne, and other of the great peers and nobles of France, congratulating his happy deliverance ; nor was it long before the King of France, and the Queen Mother did the like, expressing their regret for his Majesty's disasters, and the great interest they took in his safety.

Thus I have drawn into as narrow compass as I could the particulars and circumstances of his Majesty's preservation, in each of which is

remarkable his great patience and goodness, and withal his exemplary fortitude in undergoing the greatest calamities that could befall a prince on this side death. I have perhaps made too long a story of it for this little volume, but it was for the reader's sake, who I hope will be stirred up by it to praise the King of Kings that delivered his anointed from becoming a prey to those that thirsted after his blood. Certainly not only we, but even the succeeding generations, will have cause to bless the Divine Providence, for that in the midst of his judgments upon these nations, he was pleased to preserve so precious a mercy for them in store; to the end that having been sufficiently chastened with the scorpions of bloody and tyrannical governors for their sins against their natural, pious, and gracious sovereign, they might in due time be restored to the blessings which they had forfeited, under the government of his excellent Son and his posterity to the end of the world.

In the pursuit after this fatal battle were taken, besides the Earls of Derby, Lauderdale, Cleveland, and his son the Lord Wentworth, the Earl of Kenmore, David Lesley, Lieutenant-General Middleton, Major-General Vandruske, the Lord Spyne, Sir William Fleming, with

many others of quality. Of three thousand horse which fled, one thousand were taken about Beudley in Staffordshire, more in other places, partly by soldiers, and partly by rising parties of country people, who barbarously knocked many stragglers on the head in Yorkshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Shropshire, and Warwickshire. Major-General Massey having with many wounds upon him escaped out of the field, and finding himself unable for flight, yielded himself to the civility and mercy of the Countess of Stamford; to which he was induced upon the account of former friendship, he having been Major-General under the Earl her husband in the wars between his late Majesty and the Parliament. How far this lady's generosity extended I know not; but her son the Lord Grey of Groby understanding it, forthwith secured him as a prisoner till his wounds were cured, and then he was sent up to the Parliament, and committed to the Tower, from whence he escaped not long after by an ingenious wile, and went into France to his Majesty.

The news of this victory caused great rejoicing amongst the pretended Parliament, who now looked upon their new commonwealth as founded to eternity. And to tell the world that they

were the favourites of heaven, and that God had owned their cause, a day of solemn thanksgiving was appointed throughout the whole nation. And, indeed, though there was nothing miraculous in the victory, the Parliamentarians being six times the number of the Royalists, yet it may be said to have been the work of God, and they the instruments of his wrath upon the people of this land, and the scourges of God, as Attila, that terrible destroyer of Christendom, was once called *Flagellum Dei*. The only miracle was his Majesty's deliverance, in which the King of Kings was pleased to remember mercy in judgment, and give us cause to adore his providence both in afflicting this nation in this excellent Prince, and suffering wicked tyrants, murderers, and oppressors, to prosper; in the mean time preserving him in whom our hopes lay from the hands of his blood-thirsty enemies.

And as if success attended impious arms, the garrisons of Scotland fell every day into the power of the English. Stirling Castle was delivered to Colonel Monk, while Cromwell was at Worcester, and in it great store of warlike ammunition, with many of the royal ensigns. Old General Lesley, Earl of Leven, with several other Scotch Lords, intending to have levied a

party of men for his Majesty, and to have raised the siege of that strong and loyal town Dundee, were surprised by a party of English horse; shortly after which the town was taken by storm, and the city of St. Andrews and Aberdeen, with other towns, castles, and forts, surrendered upon summons.

On the twelfth of September Cromwell entered triumphantly into London (having sent the poor captive Scots thither before him), and on the sixteenth he went to the Parliament House, and had a congratulatory oration made to him by Lenthall, the Speaker; and was the same day feasted by John Kendrick, Mayor of London: from whence he never after went forth upon any expedition.

About the latter end of October, the Island of Jersey was reduced by Colonel Hain and General Blake from sea, and the Isle of Man was surrendered to Colonel Duckenfield upon articles by the Countess of Derby, whose renowned, pious, and valiant Lord, was at Chester adjudged to death for engaging with the King at Worcester, by a council of war, after quarter given, and beheaded at Bolton, in Lancashire, on the fifteenth of October, with the tears and lamentations of most of the spectators. Several



executions were also done upon others by shooting or hanging in divers places for the same cause, as on Sir Timothy Fetherstonehaugh, Captain Benbow, &c.

They were tried upon the pretended act made after the King's coming into England, *viz.* Aug. 12, 1651, prohibiting correspondence with his Majesty or his party, under the penalty of high-treason.

His Majesty having upon his arrival at Paris been visited and congratulated by the King, Queen, and Nobles of France, had a princely attendance assigned him, and lodgings in the Louvre, where he led a retired life in expectation of some happier opportunity which it might please Providence to present him with for the recovery of his kingdoms, which he had now small hopes to obtain by the assistance of his own subjects in either of them ; England being so strictly overawed by the numerous army kept on foot for that purpose, and Scotland and Ireland being in a manner wholly subdued by the English armies. Yet in Scotland there were still some small forces up in the north, as the Marquess of Huntley, with about one thousand five hundred men, and the Lord Balcarris. The Marquess of Argyle also fortified his houses at

Ander-arran and Lorne, and the castles in Arran Island; and was expected to join, with four thousand men, with the former. Moreover the clergy were still very high against the English. But it seems the designs of the noblemen were only to make themselves considerable, that they might treat upon better terms; for shortly after the Marquess of Huntley made his peace, the Lord Balcarris, and divers other lords, came in to the protection of Lieutenant-General Monk, and Argyle having made an attempt to summon a parliament, and shuffled off and on for some months, at length submitted, and afterward testified under his hand his agreement to the making of Scotland a commonwealth with England, and protested fidelity to it as established without King, House of Lords, &c. Upon which terms he was left at liberty with assurance to enjoy his estate. Had these lords been cordial to the royal interest, to which they had so solemnly sworn a little while before, they might easily have maintained the Highlands against all opposition, these places being naturally almost inaccessible and invincible.

Notwithstanding this low posture of his Majesty's affairs, he was treated with much honour by the Princes and nobility in France; and Mada-

moiselle de Orleans, daughter to the late Duke of that title, being a very rich Princess, worth sixty thousand per annum, and Sovereign Dutchess of Montpensier, shewed great inclination towards him in relation to marriage. It is also reported that there was a match designed between his Majesty's brother, the Duke of York, and a daughter of the Duke of Longueville (a prince descended from the royal house of France), who was by her mother heir to the rich possessions of the Count of Soissons. But the great troubles arising about that time between the King and the Princes of the Blood, hindered the success, the Duke of Orleans and his daughter being far engaged with the Prince of Conde against the King of France in a civil war, occasioned by the imperiousness of Cardinal Mazarine, who during the King's minority had, by means of his great favour with the Queen, engrossed the whole government of that kingdom in a manner into his own hands, usurped an inordinate power and all the grand offices, and had committed several enormous miscarriages during the Queen Mother's regency. The Princes of the Blood and the generality of the nation became so incensed against him hereby, that an arrest was passed by the Parliament of Paris for the banishment

of the said Cardinal, who thereupon retired to Cologne, and all his goods were confiscated. But the Queen having a great inclination to bring him back again into France, the Duke of Orleans and Conde vehemently opposed it; and when no accommodation could be made, the Prince withdrew his forces (which he commanded for the King's service against the Spaniard) to Stenay, a strong garrison, where making great levies, he got a considerable power into the field. The cities also of Paris and Bourdeaux owned the Prince's cause and quarrel. Whereupon the King raised a great army, commanded by Marshal Turenne, and Count de Harcourt. Several encounters passed between them, the illustrious Duke of York first serving as a volunteer, and afterward commanding a regiment at the siege of Estampes, where he behaved himself extremely honourable in two conflicts. The Cardinal in the mean time returned into France with six thousand men, and the Princes on the other side invited the Duke of Lorraine to their assistance, who had a mercenary army of ten thousand men in the service of the King of Spain.

His Majesty of Great Britain, understanding sufficiently the fatal effects of civil combustions,

partly out of sincere intentions for the good of France, and partly out of the consideration of the advantageousness of its peace to his own affairs, interceded as a mediator between the King and the discontented Princes, and his motion was gratefully accepted of by both parties, and thereupon deputies were sent several times by the Princes to represent their grievances; but the King of France persisted resolute not to part with the Cardinal, though the King of England urged him as far as possible, to gratify his incensed subjects, if not by dismissing him altogether, yet at least by sending him upon some honourable foreign employment. Of all which generous endeavours this noble, prudent, and Christian Prince, obtained no other fruit but an extreme hatred from Mazarine.

At the same time his Majesty employed himself in reconciling the French King and his subjects, upon hopes of those endeavours succeeding, he thought fit to deal with the Duke of Lorraine to transport his army into Ireland, where some garrisons still held out. Which affair was so far proceeded in, that articles were drawn up between the Duke of Lorraine and the Lord Taaffe on behalf of his Majesty, by which it was agreed, amongst other things, That the Duke

should, at his own charges, land an army of ten thousand men for the reducing of Ireland to his Majesty; that he should be invested with the title of Protector Royal of Ireland, and have four towns put into his hands for security for his disbursements, with restrictions and cautions. But these articles never came to be signed, partly because the Duke was conscious of his disability to go through with the enterprise and defray the charges of it, and partly because he was at the same time dealt with underhand by the King of France to relinquish the Prince's party, and offered by him such terms as they were not able to give him. And as ill fortune would have it, the manner of discovery of their agreement made the King of England be looked upon as the agent and procurer of it. For the French King's army, under Turenne, marching into Brie in view of the Lorrain army, the Duke of Beaufort was extremely desirous to encounter with them. To which purpose he went into the field, where he found King Charles and the Duke of York with the Duke of Lorrain, who, upon the approach of Beaufort, presently withdrew. And then this Duke urging him of Lorrain to fight, found an extreme coldness in him to the business, and presently after understood his con-

junction with the court-interest. Whereupon the incensed Princes exclaimed against the perfidiousness of the Duke of Lorrain, and against the English Princes as the causes of it. Who though they made it sufficiently apparent that their transactions with the Duke of Lorrain were wholly about another affair, yet the indignation of the Princes and people for this collusion so blinded their reasons, that they would not be convinced of the innocency of the King and his brother, but bitterly inveighed against them and the Queen Mother, whom they also were resolved to believe had been instrumental in the business: so that they were induced to withdraw from the Louvre to St. Germain's, and the Queen to Chaliot.

Shortly after the victory at Worcester, the pretended Parliament, as I said, executed abundance of the royal party; and such as were suffered to live had their estates confiscated, and were kept several years after in prison. Their principal acts passed the remainder of this year were, I. *An Act for the increase of Shipping and encouragement of Navigation*, in which it was enacted, 1. "That no goods or commodities of the growth or manufacture of any places whatsoever should be brought hither but only in

English ships, and that from the very places of their growth and manufacture only; also that no fish, or oil made of fish, or whalebone, should be imported, but only such as should be caught in English vessels, nor any salted fish exported in any other save English bottoms," &c. This act was apprehended by the Dutch as highly prejudicial to the trade which they had driven with extreme advantage above us during our intestine wars, and proved a great cause of the war that shortly followed between this state and the United Provinces. II. *An Act to determine the Session of this Parliament on Nov. 3, 1654.* Their dissolution was a point they did not love to think of; but being urged by the army and several petitions for a new representative, after many debates and delays they resolved to continue their sitting three years longer; but they reckoned without their host, and received a quietus about a year and a half after from Cromwell. III. *An Act of Oblivion*, which was loaden with many heavy provisoes and exceptions. IV. *An Act for incorporating Scotland into one Commonwealth with England*, the government of which they invested in these commissions, Oliver St. John, Sir Henry Vane, Major-General Lambert, Major-General Deane, Colonel Fen-



wick, Alderman Tichburne, Major Salwey, and Lieutenant-General Monk. As for Ireland, the government of it having been wholly referred to Cromwell, he constituted his son-in-law Ireton to command in chief there with the title of Lord-Deputy.

In December, 1651, arrived at Paris the gentlewoman, Mrs. Jane Lane, who had been instrumental in his Majesty's deliverance after the overthrow at Worcester; of which, fearing danger by the discovery of some unfaithful confidants, she went on foot in disguise to Yarmouth, and there took ship for France. She was conducted into Paris with great honour, his Majesty himself with the Queen his mother, and the Dukes of York and Gloucester, going out to meet her; upon the first sight his Majesty took her by the hand and saluted her, with this obliging term, *Welcome, my life!* The French Court also regarded her with much respect and honour, together with her brother, Colonel Lane, who accompanied her thither.

About the spring of the year, 1652, broke out a furious war between the English and the Dutch commonwealths, after ambassadors had been sent to no effect from either. The first act of hostility was on the nineteenth of May, 1652.



JAMIE MACKAYE .

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After which many bloody sea-fights passed between them, both in the British sea and the Straits, with great loss of ships and men on both sides ; but the Dutch were most commonly worsted. During this sharp war his Majesty was as mindful of his interests, using all endeavours for an accommodation between the King of France and the Princes, as also between the Kings of France and Spain ; in the mean time also sending ambassadors to several potentates to desire assistance, as the Lord Wilmot (whom he had created Earl of Rochester) to the Imperial Diet at Ratisbon, the Lord Culpepper to the Hague, and the Lord Wentworth to the King of Denmark. But the Catholic Princes were the colder in gratifying his Majesty, for that he shewed no proneness to embrace their religion, as the Emperor once expressly signified to him. And, indeed, such was his Majesty's constancy, that no temptations of worldly advantages, no resentment of adversity, nor the solicitations and arguments of several grand Catholics, who endeavoured to pervert him (as Mr. Montagu, Militiere, and Salmonet), could prevail any thing upon him. He propounded to the Dutch, that if they would furnish him with a squadron of ships, he would set up his own flags and com-

mand them in person. Some of the Provinces were very inclinable to the motion, but that of Holland, which stood out against the admitting of the young Prince of Orange for Captain-General, was also backward to comply with his Majesty's desires, or undertake his interest; than which act nothing could have been more honourable to them, nor perhaps more beneficial. All that he could bring them to was, that they granted liberty for his ships to ride in their ports with their flags up, as King of Great Britain, &c. The King of Denmark professed willingness enough to gratify his Majesty; but his affairs were then in a doubtful state, and depended much upon the success of the Dutch, with whom he had partly engaged.

In December, 1652, the English Junto resolved to be rid of his Majesty's younger brother the Duke of Gloucester, and referred it to the Council of State to consider with what accommodation and to what place to send him. The Council, that they might seem to do something handsomely, ordered him to go into Holland, and gave him a bill for 1000*l.* to be paid to him upon his arrival; but such was their honesty, that they took care that he should never receive one penny of it. However, he was extremely re-

spected at all the places he came to in the Low Countries, as at Dunkirk, Antwerp, the Hague, Leyden, &c. And having been for some time entertained by his Royal Sister, where he had the honour of the Garter sent him from the King, he departed to the Court of France, being attended by Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Richard Greenville; his Majesty himself, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and others, going two leagues out of Paris to meet him.

Towards the latter end of the year 1652, his Majesty's hopes began to be something desperate, concerning any considerable succour from France; for that King, instead of uniting with the Princes, his subjects, sent an ambassador, M. de Bordeaux Neufville, to treat a peace with England, to which he was the rather induced, for that Admiral Blake had not long before beaten and destroyed the French ships under the Duke of Vendosme that were going to the relief of Dunkirk; which defeat occasioned the loss of that town to the Spaniard. Nor were his hopes likely to prove more successful in the United Provinces, for they were so weary of the war, that they sent a letter to England to cast about for an accommodation. But before they effected any thing, Cromwell, finding his ambi-

tious projects ripe, being emboldened with former successes, and backed with a strong army, on the twentieth of April, 1653, entered the Parliament House, attended with some officers, where he represented to them that their dissolution was important to the public good and welfare of the nation, with many reasons for it; which none daring to oppose, the Members departed the House. To justify which action, he and his council of officers put forth a declaration, wherein it was pretended, "The Parliament was overruled by a corrupt party, who intended to perpetuate themselves, deluding the nation from time to time with hopes of a new representative, notwithstanding the petitions of the army and several counties; that the cause which God had so greatly blessed languished in their hands, and was in danger to be lost by their negligence of the public and self-seeking, with many more like crimes." And thus fell this great Idol of the nation, this *Parliamentum Infame*, which in a dozen years' time had wrought more mischief to these kingdoms, than all the preceding Parliaments had ever done good. After this Cromwell with his officers took the administration of affairs into their own hands, the armies in Scotland and Ireland, and the fleet, assenting to their

proceedings. But to gull the people a little longer, and render Parliaments more contemptible to them, Cromwell, upon the eighth of June following, sent out a summons in his own name to such persons as he pleased to meet at Westminster on the fourth of July. Who accordingly appearing to the number of sixscore, he empowered them by a writing under his hand and seal to be the supreme authority and governors of the three nations, and that forty of them should be a quorum to dispatch business. This Junto of sectaries and officers of the army going into the Parliament House, in three days' time gravely resolved, that they would be called *The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*, and that their chairman, Mr. Rous, should be called Speaker, and that they would have a sergeant at arms and a mace. Thus they began ridiculously, and continued in all their actions for four months, in which they voted down the High Court of Chancery, made a silly act for marriages, births, and burials, confirmed the unjust bill for sale of the estate of Sir John Stowell, Knight of the Bath, ordered sale of the remainder of the royal revenue, made a tax for six months at 120,000*l. per mensem*, struck fiercely at tythes and universities; and then being partly weary, and



partly ashamed of themselves, some of Oliver's faction, by underhand appointment, repaired to Cromwell, and resigned their power into his hands, who at first seeming unwilling and excusing his inability, was prevailed with by importunity to accept it, which he did, with the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The rest of the sectarian convention, who refused to break up the Parliament, and do as their fellows had done, Cromwell sent soldiers to turn them out of the House; which was accordingly done, and the doors locked against them, December 2, 1653. And upon the sixteenth of the same month, having by the advice of his officers framed and published an instrument of government, consisting of forty-two articles, he sent for the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Mayor and Aldermen of London, with the Judges and Officers of the Army, and was by them solemnly installed in Westminster-Hall, taking an oath to rule according to his instrument and the laws of the land, though nothing could be more repugnant to the laws than that instrument.

In this last year, notwithstanding the former offer of accommodation, several encounters had been between the ships of this nation and those

of the United Provinces; in which the Dutch suffered much, so that the common people there were in great consternation. Two of the principal battles were on the third of June and the twenty-ninth of July. In the former, the English got a remarkable victory, though with the loss of one of their generals, Dean, by a great shot, taking above one thousand three hundred prisoners and eleven ships of war, besides six sunk. In the latter, being the greatest blow the Dutch ever received from us, their admiral, Martin Harper Van Trump, one of the most expert and renowned seamen in the world, was slain with a musket-shot, and two thousand men more; one thousand prisoners taken, and twenty-seven ships of war sunk and fired: which losses quite broke the spirits of the Dutch, who thereupon began seriously to think of peace.

This summer also it pleased God to visit his Majesty with a fever, which held him some time with violence; so that the London pamphlets published it to be mortal. But the Divine Providence intended better things to this nation, and about the latter end of August recovered him to perfect health. After which he departed from the Court for some time to Chantilly, not far distant from Paris, for better air, being ac-

accompanied with Prince Rupert, who after various fortunes at sea and separation from his brother, Prince Maurice, by a hurricane (who was never after heard of), put in with his ships at Nantes in Brittany, and resided with his Majesty for a long time at Paris in the Palace Royal.

This year the Lord Hopton, who had commanded an army for his late Majesty in the rebellion of England, died of a fever, after five days' sickness, at Bruges in Flanders; a person of great learning, piety, temperance, and valour.

In the beginning of the next year his Majesty's hopes of doing any good upon the United States were absolutely extinguished. He had used all possible means by the intercessions of his friends to avert them from reconciliation with England, and to that purpose was very active, upon the arrival of Monsieur Boreel, their ambassador, to negotiate a league with France to promote the conclusion of it; but they had so deeply tasted of the English valour in the sea war, and were so impatiently desirous of peace and trade, that all he could gain of them in the end was a letter of complimentary civility. And accordingly, applications being made to the new pretended Protector by two Dutch ambassadors, the Lords Newport and Youngstall, a peace

was concluded between the two States, the articles of which were proclaimed in London, April 26, 1654. Nor were his Majesty's solicitations for a peace between France and Spain more successful, though he prosecuted it with his utmost ardour, as judging it the most important expedient, whereby he might obtain assistance from these two potent monarchs; and other Princes also, together with the Pope himself, interposed for a reconciliation. For the politic reasons of Cardinal Mazarine, who knew the peace of the kingdom of France depended on his removal out of it, induced him to venture the fortune of war, rather than be sacrificed (though deservedly) to the tranquillity of that kingdom. And having taken this resolution, he judged it also his interest, in the next place, to make a sure friend of the new Protector of England, who, being an usurper too, he conceived would be more willing to join interests. To which purpose, all considerations of honour, generosity (yea, of affinity and charity), set aside, by the Cardinal's means, instructions were sent over to Monsieur de Bordeaux Neufville (who had lain here a long time before, but had done little by reason of the unsettledness of the government), to treat a league and confederacy with the pre-

tended Protector. Whether the Cardinal had any particular malice towards the King of England (as some affirm) I cannot determine; but this has been apparent in all his actions, that he will not stick to promote his own ambitious interest by the ruin of that or any other whatsoever, being a greater politician than to stickle at such rules as the sense of honour, goodness, or justice itself, may lay in the way of his proceedings. This his Majesty sufficiently understood, and foresaw that by natural consequence the union of the English Mahomet and this ecclesiastical politician would produce his exclusion out of France. Wherefore, he thought it more honourable to depart that kingdom voluntarily, than to stay till he were dismissed by articles; and accordingly, on the first of July, 1654, took leave of the King and Queen of France, and of his Royal Mother, with the French grandees, from whom he received such dissembling language, as that ceremonious nation uses on all occasions. He went first to Chatillon, a house belonging to the Prince of Conde, being accompanied with his illustrious Brother the Duke of York, and his Cousins the Princes Palatine, Rupert, and Edward; having made some stay here, his Royal Brother returned to Paris, and

from thence to the army, with the title of Lieutenant-General, under Marshal de Turénne, who then lay with his forces besieging the Archduke and the Prince of Conde, with a numerous Spanish army in their trenches before Arras. Prince Rupert also here kissed his Majesty's hand and departed to Heydelberg to his Brother's Court, and from thence to that of the Emperor, and Prince Edward went to Bourbon. From Chatillon, about the latter end of the same month, his Majesty went to Cambray, and from thence, passing through Liege, to the Spaw.

In the mean time, Cromwell plays the tyrant in England at a high rate, and on February 18, he sent eleven persons of quality to the Tower, for a conspiracy against his Highness's person; but having no evidence against them, besides his own guilty fears (which suggested to him that most men wanted the power rather than the will to dispatch him out of his usurped dignity), they were soon after set at liberty. The first act of himself and council was to repeal the engagement made by the infamous Parliament against *a single person*; which was done by an ordinance, January 19; next the style of public writings was altered from *The Keepers, &c.* to *Oliver, Lord Protector, &c.* Then an ordinance was

passed by his Highness and Council, declaring offences of treason, which were made of three sorts :—1. Attempting any thing against Cromwell and his government. 2. Corresponding with, or promoting the right of his Majesty. 3. Declaring that any Parliament was at present in being or had any continuance, &c. So we see it came about that owning of the commonwealth interest, as they called it, was now as great an offence as malignancy. Moreover, to gratify sectaries, he made an ordinance to eject scandalous ministers, by which many worthy ministers were deprived of their livings in several counties; and to shew the more exquisite malice, such ejected were not to be admitted ever after to any ecclesiastical preferment, nor to teach school, or officiate as chaplains in the houses of persons of quality. He also set up an inquisition for approbation of ministers, by whom ignorant fanatics were preferred before grave and learned divines, the commission running in terms that they should have especial regard to such as were endowed with *gifts and graces*, though they wanted human learning. Of these inquisitors, were Robert Tichburne, Hugh Peters, Philip Nye, Thomas Goodwin, Stephen Marshal, Peter Sterry, Sydney Simpson, and others

of the like stamp. And that he might, according to the course of tyrants, establish his power in blood, by deterring all that loved their country from attempting its deliverance, and removing some of those he judged loyal and valiant enough to do it, upon the twentieth of May a plot was discovered, for which several persons of quality were apprehended, as Sir Gilbert Gerrard, and Colonel John Gerrard, Humphry Bagaley (Secretary to the late Earl of Derby), Sidney Fotherby, and Somerset Fox, Esqrs. Mr. Tudor, an apothecary, and Mr. Vowel, a schoolmaster; there were also committed to the Tower, the Earl of Oxford, Major Bailey, Colonel Ashburnham, and amongst others, Sir Richard Willis. For the trial of these conspirators a High Court of Justice was erected by an ordinance of Cromwell's, on the thirteenth of June, of which John Lisle was president, and Steel, Tichburne, Sir William Roberts, and some twenty more (right qualified for any murder it pleased the Protector to put them upon), commissioners. Of the gentlemen committed only three were tried (the thirtieth of June), Mr. Gerrard, Mr. Vowel, and Mr. Fox, who were adjudged within the new-made ordinance, and guilty of treason, though by no law of the land; Glyn,



**Prideaux, and Ellis, like good instruments of a tyrant, urging the Protector's will for law. Yet the latter of them was reprieved, and the two former suffered death with much resolution and courage, Mr. Gerrard being beheaded on Tower-Hill, and Mr. Vowel hanged at Charing-Cross, the tenth of July.**

Scotland was not yet so absolutely subdued, but that there appeared some still in arms for his Majesty in the Highlands; the Earls of Seaforth, Athol, Glencairn, Kinnard, the young Marquess of Montrose, the Lord Lorne, Sir Arthur Forbes, and Sir Mungo Murrey, having gathered together several parties of horse and foot, and making several irruptions upon the English in the Lowlands; whereby they much molested them in their new possessions, sometimes taking considerable booty, and sometimes being worsted and flying into the mountains, where the pursuers could not follow them. And thus they continued in expectation of greater levies, and the arrival of Lieutenant-General Middleton with supplies, out of the Low Countries. But in the mean time the English met with the most considerable party under the Earl of Glencairn, and defeated them, the Earl himself hardly escaping; the like success also

befel several other parties ; so that they could not unite into one body as they intended. At length Lieutenant-General Middleton arrived out of Holland, with the expected provisions of war, and a commission to be General, and Monroe to be his Lieutenant-General. This disposing of commands so incensed Glencairn, who had been employing his utmost interest in levying forces, which he now saw must be commanded by others ; that instead of conspiring together against the common enemy, these great officers quarrelled among themselves ; Glencairn was contented to be Lieutenant-General, but Monroe would not agree to it ; whereupon a single combat ensued between them, in which the Earl having wounded and disarmed his adversary, deserted the service with about five hundred gentlemen, and made composition with the Governor of Dunbarton to live peaceably at home. The same course was also taken by others by degrees. However, Middleton stood out still with much resolution, till at length being set upon a great disadvantage by General Monk and Colonel Morgan, first in Argyle, and then at Loughary, about the middle of July, he was wholly overthrown. Nevertheless he continued in the Highlands with some foot for some time -

after, till he saw most of the nobility were either taken or made their submissions, and then he retired back into Holland. The Kirk of Scotland was likewise concerned in the public desolation, being broken up by Colonel Morgan, and the petulant ministry reduced to subjection.

As for Ireland, it was by the English arms brought to such a condition, as there was no fear of disturbance for the future; only some few Tories, that kept themselves in inaccessible places, sometimes made irruptions to steal and plunder. The Parliament also erected a High Court of Justice there, of which Cook (so infamous for being an instrument in the murder of his late Majesty) was president. By whose sentence a great number of the natives (and amongst them many of the ancient Irish nobility) were sentenced and executed for being found guilty of the bloody massacre committed upon the Protestants in the beginning of the rebellion, and about fourteen thousand were sold to the King of Spain, and many transported into other foreign parts, who had rendered themselves upon proclamation: the rest were all driven into the province of Connaught, and there circumscribed to inhabit. The other three provinces, Ulster, Munster, and Leinster, were allotted to

the English, and all forfeited lands divided among such adventurers as had advanced money towards the management of the Irish affairs, and the soldiers for satisfaction of their arrears. In the room of Deputy Ireton, who had succeeded Cromwell in the chief command of that nation, and died of the pestilence at Limerick; Cromwell constituted Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, who was become his son-in-law by the marriage of his eldest daughter, Bridget, Ireton's widow.

His Majesty having for some months resided at the Spaw, where he enjoyed the company of his Royal Sister the Princess of Orange, and having received two hundred thousand rix dollars from the Emperor and the Imperial College (who also enacted that no scandalous book published against him should be bought or sold in Germany under pain of death), departed from thence to Cologne, where he arrived with his Royal Sister on the sixth of October, the great guns being discharged at their entrance, and the deputies of the city going forth to meet them in solemn manner, and conducting them to the palace provided for them by the chief magistrates. On the twenty-eighth of the same month the said magistrates expressed their affections to his

Majesty by entertaining him and the Princess with a sumptuous collation ; who also the next day upon invitation went to Dusseldorp, where the Duke of Newburgh treated them with all possible magnificence for some days. After which the Princess Royal took her journey towards Holland, and his Majesty having accompanied her on the way as far as Bedinguen returned to Cologne.

At his Majesty's departure out of France, he was over-entreated by the Queen, his mother, to permit the Duke of Gloucester to stay with her at the Palace Royal, but with condition that no attempt should be made upon him to pervert him from his religion. But shortly after (by the instigation of the French Court and some English Catholics about her) the Queen was willing he should be solicited to turn Catholic, and for that purpose permitted him to be carried to Pontoise, where some bad instruments, taking advantage of Mr. Lovell, his tutor's, absence at Paris, set upon him with all motives they could invent, both spiritual and temporal, to incline him to the Popish religion ; but the former kind of arguments were repelled by his Highness with greater reason and resolution than could probably have been expected from a person of

his years ; and for the temptations of worldly advancement, he rejected them with contempt, and the danger of his Majesty's displeasure ; urging withal the Queen's promise to the King before his departure in this very particular, and complaining of this unworthy advantage taken against him in the absence of his tutor, who was fittest to judge of their proposals. Wherefore he was removed to Paris, to the house of Mr. Crofts, from thence to Pontoise again, under the instruction of Mr. Walter Montagu, Abbot of Nanteul, and his former tutor dismissed. Of these attempts some cordial Protestants certified his Majesty at Cologne with all possible speed, who resented them so highly, that being ready to go to dinner when the intelligence was brought him, he would not think of eating till he had dispatched letters away to Paris. In the mean time his Highness was restlessly importuned with persuasions to return to the true ancient apostolical Roman Church, to embrace the religion wherein most of his ancestors lived and died, and most of the Christian world, together with the King of France, his Royal Mother and her alliance, professed ; which were also backed with the allurements of the greatest church-dignities and revenues, and the honours

which that whole nation would be ready to pay his Highness, &c. All which he declined with very ingenious answers; and shortly after a gentleman went to his Highness with a letter from his Majesty, and was admitted to his presence; but not being able to deliver the same privately, he caused it to be delivered by another hand. In that letter his Majesty minded him of the strict command he had laid upon him at his departure out of France, of the horrid injury offered to his conscience, honour, and family, of the vanity of his persuaders' motives, and the falseness and emptiness of their promises; he also declared to him the more eligibleness of any degree of suffering, and urged to him the fidelity of God's promises, whose love he must expect to lose, together with that of himself, a most affectionate brother, in case he yielded to the inveiglements of his tempters. Moreover, he desired him to reflect on their dead Father's last charge, solemnly given him the day before his glorification, with the entail of his blessing annexed. And in conclusion, added, that if he either changed his religion, or put himself into the Jesuits' College, he had the last letter from him, and must never look to see England or his face again: and that if (which God forbid) their

business miscarried for ever, the whole ruining of their family, and all the nation's too, must be laid with all the consequent mischiefs at his door, as the chief cause of it. As soon as his Highness had read this admonitory letter, he transcribed a copy of it, and sent it to the Queen, desiring her permission to come to Paris, both in regard of these commands of the King, and of his brother the Duke of York's approaching return from the army. To which her Majesty answered, that she should not cease wishing his eternal good by his conversion, to which nevertheless she would not force him, but wished him to hearken to what Mr. Montagu should further deliver to him, which was, that he would be willing to go to the Jesuits' College, where he should have extreme freedom in every thing. But all would not prevail upon his resolution; however, he returned to Paris, where, about the eighteenth of November, the Marquess of Ormond arrived from Germany with letters and new instructions, having taken a long and dangerous voyage by reason the lately dissolved French army had betaken themselves to the robbing of all passengers. Before the intent of his journey was known, the Queen of France and the Cardinal very closely pressed him, and



so did her Majesty of England, both herself apart, and by Mr. Montagu. Which importunities proving fruitless, some severities were proceeded to, which occasioned his Highness to leave the Palace Royal and go to the house of the Lord Hatton in the Fauxbourgs, where the former solicitations were renewed, but with as little success. After which the Duke desired the favour to see the Queen his mother before his departure, but was refused; which denial having received with much grief, he went away with my Lord of Ormond to Cologne, where his Majesty resided.

But let us look back a little upon the actions of the usurper of his Majesty's dominions. Cromwell's new instrument enjoined the summoning of Parliament every three years: and accordingly he sent out his new fashioned writs and new contrived indentures for the returning of Members, and that after a new way, ten or a dozen for most counties, one or two for cities and boroughs, and many of these left wholly out. The reason of which was, because it was easier to pack elections in counties by the interest of army officers and other creatures, than in boroughs. They assembled at Westminster on the third of September, 1654. Cromwell

meeting them in the Painted Chamber, made a speech, in which he endeavoured to shew the necessity of his taking the government upon him, and recounted the excellences of it, telling them also "that he did not design to be a lord over them, but their fellow-servant to the public." After which they chose Lenthall for their Speaker, and betook themselves to their business. The first debate was, "Whether the Legislative Power should be in a single person and a Parliament." It was bandied with some heat, till Cromwell, thinking them too busy in making a question of that which he would have believed sufficiently determined by his instrument, resolved to make them sensible of it; wherefore sending for them into the Painted Chamber about three days after their first assembling, he checked them severely, telling them, 1. "That the fundamentals in the government (*viz.* such as were constituted by the instrument) could not be altered; whereof that which they debated was one; and, 2. That the militia was not to be trusted in any one hand or power, but so, that the Parliament ought to have a check upon the Protector, and he upon them. 3. That Parliaments should not be perpetual nor always sitting. 4. That there ought to be liberty of con-

science in religion. Other things in the government were examinable and alterable according to the state of affairs. For his own part his heart was even overwhelmed with grief to see any of them should go about to overthrow what was settled (*viz.* by his instrument), contrary to their trust received from the people." After this preface he delivered them a paper (called a *Recognition*) to be subscribed by such as intended to sit; in which they were to engage "to be faithful to the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, and not to propose or give consent to alter the government, as it was settled in one person and a Parliament." Such as refused to subscribe were excluded from sitting, the rest repaired again to the house, where they took the instrument in hand again, and prepared a bill for the settling of the government, and some others which they intended to present to the Protector to be signed together. But he having information given him all the way of their proceedings by some false Members, suffered them to spend five months allotted them by the instrument to sit without interruption, and the very next day after went to the Painted Chamber; - where upbraiding them with "parricide in not owning the authorities that called them thi-

ther, and endeavouring to subvert the government owned by God, as being the dispensation of his Providence after twelve years war," he dissolved this Parliament (as he had done two before) January 22, 1654. Within two days after their dissolution a plot was discovered, which Cromwell said was occasioned, if not hatched, by the Parliament itself. Sir Henry Littleton, High Sheriff of Worcestershire, and Sir John Packington of the same county, were committed to the Tower thereupon; and several persons more in the north and north-west counties of England, where the design was laid for an insurrection. Shrewsbury and Chirk Castle were to have been surprised, but it was prevented; the discovery of the whole conspiracy having been made to Cromwell by some secret insinuating agents of his from the first birth of it till it was mature to break out. At Shrewsbury the Lord Newport and Sir Thomas Harris, who were the chief there, were taken prisoners and sent up to London. Nevertheless others were not deterred from attempting something for the deliverance of their native country from bondage; for upon the eleventh of March, 1654, a body of two hundred, consisting most of gentlemen, surprised Salisbury, and took away all

the horses. From whence, in expectation of greater forces to join with them, they marched towards Cornwall; but they were overtaken by one Captain Crook, with a party of sectarian horse, at Southmolton, in Devonshire, and after four hours' sharp conflict defeated. Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, the chief of this loyal party, escaped; the three other most eminent leaders, Colonel John Penruddock, Captain Hugh Groves, and Captain Jones, were taken with fifty others. Another rising was also in Yorkshire, at Hexham Moore; but of four thousand which should have met, not above two hundred appearing, they were soon dispersed by the forces of Colonel Lilburne, Sir Henry Slingsby, the chief, taken, and Sir Richard Maleverer with much difficulty escaping. At the same time likewise another attempt was made to rise at Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire; but the gentry that designed it were suppressed by Colonel Hacker. Nor were the levellers less pleased with the tyrannical usurpation of Cromwell, though their designs were not upon the account of loyalty: for Major-General Harrison, Mr. Carew, Richard Courtney, and Major Wildman, were discovered to have framed a plot against him, and secured: these latter sort of conspirators were in favour

of the sectaries, and in consideration of former assistance in rebellion and the murder of his late Majesty, more gently proceeded with; for Harrison was shortly after committed to Portland Castle, Carew to St. Maur's in Cornwall, and Courtney to Carisbrook Castle in Wight Island; but on March 31, 1655, a commission was issued forth for trial of the gentlemen in the west, to Serjeant Thorp, Glyn, and Steel; and another for trial of them in the north to Serjeant Newdigate, Nicholas, Windham, and Hatton; but of these persons Serjeant Newdigate and Thorp, conscientiously refusing to try any man for treason upon Cromwell's declaration, as law, had writs of ease given them.

But the Protector wanted not instruments in the west to execute his bloody pleasure; for at Salisbury, John Lisle, one of his Prince's murderers, sentenced Colonel Penruddock and Captain Grove to the block; and, at Exeter, seven other persons to the gallows. And now Cromwell resolved to rule only by the sword, seeing the people so hated his tyranny; to which purpose he constituted eleven of his officers to preside over all the counties of England with the titles of Major-Generals, allotting four or five counties as provinces to each, with sufficient

authority, not only in military affairs, but also in civil and ecclesiastical. For the support of these bashaws he made an ordinance, that all cavaliers or gentlemen of the late King's party should (notwithstanding the late Parliament's act of oblivion, their former compositions, and their peaceable demeanour since) pay the tenth part of their yearly revenue, which was accordingly severely exacted by the Major-Generals. He also, the better to provide against future insurrections, set up auxiliaries in every county, consisting of horse and foot, which were to be ready upon all occasions within an hour's warning; their pay was 8*l.* per annum to a horseman and 3*l.* to a footman; and, finally, that he might disenable all loyal persons from attempting any thing for their country's liberty, he put forth an ordinance to seize all sorts of arms found in the houses of those he called Malignants. Such were the courses he took to secure himself at home.

About the beginning of the year 1655, a great fleet was sent against the King of Spain's territories in America. The design was kept secret till it came to be executed upon the place; nor did he declare war against that King till afterwards, though the Marquess of Leyda, Governor

of Dunkirk, came over as extraordinary ambassador to know his intentions. Many of such, as had been imprisoned for the late insurrections had been barbarously sold to foreign plantations: some that were left, and several indigent people, were by force sent into this service, together with divers regiments of old soldiers; Venables commanding the land-forces, and Pen being general at sea. But it pleased God to check the tyrant's insolence by a considerable loss in the very first enterprise, which was undertaken so unjustly and against the faith of nations (though the propagation of religion was pretended, and other slight reasons for it). An army consisting of nine thousand seven hundred foot, besides a party of horse, by the General's indiscretion, was landed in the Island Hispaniola, at a place ten leagues from the chief town, Santo Domingo, whereby, being ready to perish miserably with thirst and the excessive heat of the sands through which they marched, they were shamefully routed by no greater a party than seventy Spaniards and negroes, one thousand two hundred were killed in the conflict and the pursuit, the rest escaped by flight. An incredible thing, had not the faintness and weakness of the English rendered it rather an execu-



tion than a fight. The remainder of this overthrow having afterward endured extreme hardship for want of provision, even to the eating of their horses, seized upon another island, called Jamaica, which, though a barren place, wanteth not some considerable advantages. But for the dishonour occasioned to our nation by this unfortunate expedition, amends was in part made by General Blake, who entering Porto Ferino at Tunis with his fleet, fired nine Turkish ships in it, notwithstanding the strong fortifications upon the shore, and came off with the loss of only twenty-five men.

Whilst affairs were thus strangely managed in England by the violent Protector, his Majesty resided at Cologne, entertaining himself with such studies as best became a Christian in his own and his country's calamities, such exercises as were befitting a Prince, and such company as his affection made most pleasing to him, namely, that of his Brother the Duke of Gloucester, and the Princess Royal of Orange. The Duke of York continued still in France, having only made a journey of no long stay to the French leaguer before Pavia. His Majesty, to divert himself from the resentment of his unsuccessful affairs, made a progress of state and

pleasure from Cologne to Frankfort Fair, being accompanied with the Duke and the Princess, and attended on by the Lord Marquess of Ormond, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Newburgh, the Lady Stanhope, and several other persons of honour; they went by coach a little beyond Bonne, the Archbishop of Cologne's electoral seat, where they entered into a gondola or pleasure-boat; through every Prince's territories that they passed, the chief officers of state were sent to compliment them, and the great guns saluted them from all their towns and castles. More especially the Prince Elector of Mentz sent his grand-marshal to invite them to his court; but his Majesty sent the Lord Newburgh back with the grand-marshal to return his acknowledgments to the Elector, and to promise him to accept of his civility as he came back from Frankfort. His Majesty being arrived there had intelligence that Christina, Queen of Sweden (who had voluntarily resigned her crown, on January 16, 1654, to her cousin Carolus Gustavus, and had for the most part since continued at Bruxelles), intended to pass that way to Italy; whereupon he sent one of his Lords to her to signify his desire to wait upon her Majesty at what place she should be pleased

to nominate. To which message she returned thanks for the honour his Majesty intended her, and appointed Coningstein, a village near Frankfort, in the Electorate of Mentz, for the place of interview. His Majesty was accordingly received there by her with many expressions of respect, and had private conference with her alone for almost an hour; after which the Duke of Gloucester was admitted to her presence alone, and then the Prince Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert, who came thither on purpose, and the rest of the great Lords that attended the King. The Elector Palatine invited his Majesty to his court, but his Majesty waived his civility; and after many compliments between these Princes, his Majesty returned to Frankfort, the Prince Elector and his Brother to Heidleberg, and the Queen of Sweden proceeded without stay in her journey to Italy. At his Majesty's returning from Frankfort, which was by water; the Elector of Mentz, having provided magnificent entertainment for his reception, came in person a great part of the way to meet him, and conducted him to one of his palaces, where he treated him for four days in a most sumptuous and splendid manner; after which himself accompanied him for some part of

the way to Cologne; in which city four burgo-masters were appointed by the magistrate to wait upon his Majesty and the Princes, and to testify the satisfaction they took in their return thither. And thus we see what respect his Majesty found in a foreign country and in his lowest fortune, the greatness of his virtues causing him to be every where extremely valued, not for what he enjoyed, but for what he truly deserved. Shortly after the Princess Royal took leave of his Majesty and the Duke of Gloucester, and departed for Holland.

In the mean time in England Cromwell's fears or his malice were restless; for about June most of the gentry in all parts of the nation were clapped up by his Major-Generals; nor would any security be taken for them, but they were kept in inns and such-like places, with guards of soldiers at an excessive charge and inconvenience for many months together; among others the Lord Falkland, Lord Willoughby, of Parham, and the Lord Newport, were committed to the Tower upon suspicion of treason; but it seems it was rather his own guilt that induced him to do thus than any reasonable cause; which could he have found, no question they had paid their lives for his security.

There having been this year a barbarous massacre committed upon the Protestants of the valleys of Piedmont by the soldiers of Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, the Protector testified his resentment of it by appointing a solemn day of humiliation to be observed, and a large contribution to be gathered throughout the nation for their relief. The collections came to a vast sum; but how well they were paid to those for whom they were pretended, is not unknown to them that were employed about this affair into Savoy.

Also toward the latter end of this year proposals were made to Cromwell by Manasseh Ben-Israel, a Jew, in behalf of the Jewish nation, for their free admission to trade and exercise of their religion in England. They had been excluded for the space of almost four hundred years; yet Cromwell, out of a sense of charity for their conversion, and in consideration of 200,000*l.* was willing to listen to their re-entertainment. But the design was so vehemently opposed by the divines and merchants that it took no effect.

In the beginning of the next year, 1656, the King of Spain, being sensible of Cromwell's perfidiousness, solemnly proclaimed war against

England. Whereupon Cromwell entered into a strict league, both offensive and defensive, with the King of France, who was then at wars with the King of Spain both in Flanders, Italy, and Catalonia. One of the chief articles of the confederacy was, that his Majesty, with the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and all his relations and adherents (saving the Queen-Mother), should be excluded out of France. In which it is to be wondered with what sense of honour that King could consent to so base and ignoble a proposal, made by one that had murdered his uncle and usurped his dominions, and, withal, to banish such Princes as were so near of blood to him, and came to him for succour and relief. But self-interest, (not self-preservation, for what could France fear from Cromwell, when he was engaged with the King of Spain, and jealous every day of the people he tyrannized over?) self-interest, I say, if not of the King of France, at least of Cardinal Mazarine, the Queen's creature, prevailed above all respects of honour, justice, and the sense of human calamities. The King wisely withdrew before, and the Duke of Gloucester not long after; there remained only the Duke of York, who, during his service in the French army, had acquired to himself a

great renown and a high command. Nevertheless he had some small time respited for his stay, in which he was visited, and honourably treated by Marshal Turenne (who infinitely esteemed and loved him for his extraordinary courage and skill in martial affairs), and others of the French lords, as also by the Duke of Modena (who was then occasionally in that kingdom). And shortly after he took his leave of the King of France, the Queen his mother, and the rest of the court, and departed into Flanders. In the mean time the King of Spain, partly out of a noble generosity, and partly out of consideration, that having engaged in a war against Cromwell, his Majesty's interest might be of some advantage to him, caused Don John of Austria, his Governor in the Low Countries, to invite his Majesty into his territories, which invitation was made by the Count of Fuensaldagne, a great commander, and lately Governor of Milan. His Majesty accepted of the offer, and departed from Cologne to Bruges, in Flanders, where he was received with great expressions of honour and respect. Thither also the Duke of York went to his Majesty, having taken Bruxelles in his way, and been extremely caressed by Don John and his court, who ex-

pressed much joy in having the most valiant Prince of his age in the world come to assist personally in the war.

In England Cromwell being much necessitated for money, and withal impatient to tarry longer for a confirmation by the people (which although he could not obtain of the preceding Parliament, he hoped he might gain of another), attempted once more to call a new Representative. But remembering the carriage of some in the former, he gave private intimation to certain persons in several counties to obstruct (if possible) their election again in the ensuing session, and writ letters to some sheriffs to the same purpose. Nevertheless, though they were chosen after the new mode, ten in a county and one in a borough, the success of these practices did not so well please him; but that when they assembled (September 17, 1656), above seven-score of the returned members were excepted against by the Protector; and when they addressed to the rest that were admitted into the House to have their elections examined, the Parliament unworthily betrayed their own privileges, and referred them to Cromwell's Council. Sir Thomas Widdrington was chosen Speaker. After this beginning, they proceeded



to make the following Acts:—I. *An Act for Disannulling his Majesty's Title to the Government of the three Nations, passed nemine contradicente.* II. *An Act making it Treason for any to attempt, compass, or imagine, the Protector's death; and appointing such Offenders to be tried, not by a jury of twelve sufficient men, but by a High Court of Justice.* This act was occasioned by a plot of one Syndercomb, who had designed to murder the Protector, and was therefore tried at the King's Bench bar (his accuser being one Toope, of Cromwell's lifeguard), and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. But the night preceding the day appointed for his execution, he was poisoned either by himself or some others. III. *An Act for an Assessment for 60,000*l.* per mensem for Three Years.* IV. *An Act for continuing Tonnage and Poundage.* V. *An Act for preventing multiplicity of Buildings in and about the Suburbs of London.* This act concerned not only such as were to be built hereafter, but also those that had been reared upon new foundations for almost forty years before, for which the owners were fined one year's rent to Cromwell: and it extended to buildings ten miles round about London. VI. *An Act for Excise of Merchandise*

*imported*; hobby-horses, children's rattles, and old shirts, not exempted. But the great act of all was called, *An humble Petition and Advice*, in which the government was settled upon Cromwell for his life, and upon whom he should nominate to succeed him. While it was in agitation, it was moved in the House by Alderman Pack (a knight of Cromwell's making), that he might be desired to take upon him the title of *King*. The Junto, who knew his mind in part before, presently prosecuted the motion, and appointed St. John, Glyn, Whitlock, Lisle, Fines, Lenthall, and others of the like stamp, to be a Committee to attend him to that purpose. These men courted him very eagerly to accept of that title; nor did he seem much averse; yea, it is more than probable he thirsted after it, and that the design was framed by himself; for Thurloe, his secretary, openly promoted it. Nevertheless he shuffled off and on in many conferences with them at Whitehall; till at length, being deterred by the non-compliance of the army, he answered, *that he could not undertake the government with the title of king*. Whereupon it was resolved he should be still termed Protector. By this Petition, among many other things, it was enacted, there should be another House,

consisting of seventy persons, to be nominated by Cromwell himself, and summoned thither by writs, as the Peers of England were wont to be. And this was designed by Cromwell, as a way to gratify his great officers, whom he intended by this means to make lords; as also to the end, that having effected his desires by this Junto, who both established him in his government and gave him 1,900,000*l.* per annum, besides all crown-lands unsold, with all other emoluments, to maintain it for his life, if after-Parliaments should attempt to rescind these Acts, his other House might perpetually check them by their negative voice. These Acts being passed by him, he was, on June 26, 1657, solemnly sworn and invested with robes of purple velvet by the Speaker of the Junto in Westminster-Hall, having also a sword, a sceptre, and a Bible, delivered to him. In which formalities he returned home, and the Junto prorogued their sitting to the twentieth of the next January.

In the spring of this year Cromwell, according to agreement made with the French King, sent over six thousand foot, under Colonel Reynolds, into Flanders, to assist him there against the Spaniard; these auxiliaries did the King of France great service in the taking of Montmedi

and St. Venant, two very advantageous places, and also, not long after, of the strong fort of Mardike. Which the Spaniards looking upon as a place of great importance to the keeping of Dunkirk, resolved to employ their utmost efforts to regain. His Majesty of Britain had an army at that time, consisting of two thousand English, Scotch, and Irish reformadoes, which, despairing of any other occasion to employ as yet, he permitted upon request to be made use of by the King of Spain. They were commanded by the Duke of York, and amongst other forces appointed for the attempting Mardike. Accordingly an assault was made upon the place by night, with much resolution and courage; but the assailants were forced, after six hours' conflict, to retire. The English and French hereupon forthwith begirt Dunkirk with a straight siege, the former being commanded by Colonel Lockhart, and the latter by Marshal Turenne. To oppose this design, Don John of Austria, the Duke of York, the Prince of Conde, and the Marquess of Caracene, assembled seven thousand foot and nine thousand horse, and brought them to Fuernes Fort. The besiegers were indeed more numerous, and therefore left sufficient forces to secure their trenches, and

drew forth the rest to encounter the enemy's army. The first onset was made by a *forlorn hope* of above three hundred English foot, who were seconded by the rest of their countrymen under Lockhart. They charged with such fury upon the Spanish foot (who had advantageously drawn up upon a sand-hill), that notwithstanding that difficulty, they totally routed the whole body. Whereupon the Spanish horse also, seeing their infantry put to the rout, betook themselves to flight, nor could by any endeavours be persuaded to make a stand. Upon which occasion the French horse, who had stood spectators only of the conflict, fell in upon pursuit of the flying enemy, from whom they found little opposition but what was made by the Duke of York's regiment, who put such a stop to the impetuous career of the whole French army, as conduced much for the safety of the routed Spaniards, who otherwise had in all probability been totally cut off. Nevertheless at length the numerousness of the pursuers overpowered the valour of these resisters, so that being much tired with the violence of the encounter, and no relief coming, they were enforced to desert their station and betake themselves to flight. Few of them escaped; among which were the Dukes

of York and Gloucester; though the first was not heard of till three days after; which gave occasion to a general suspicion that he was taken by the French forces, and secretly dismissed at a fit opportunity by the Marshal of Turenne. In this battle of the Spaniards eight hundred officers were taken prisoners, and two thousand private soldiers; the number of slain was uncertain. The consequence of it was the loss of Dunkirk; the Marquess of Leyda (governor thereof) being slain in a sally, it was surrendered upon articles, and by the King of France and the Cardinal, in person, put into the hands of the English, June 25, 1658.

While these things were in agitation beyond sea, the pretended Parliament reassembled on January 20, and those Members who had been excluded the last session were now admitted. There was also an assembly of officers, and some few others in the House of Peers, summoned thither by Cromwell as Lords. But the Commons, being now a full House, began to review the late humble petition and advice made by a packed Junto, and refused to treat with the other House as lords. Wherefore, Cromwell, in a great fury hasted to them in a hackney-coach, and having rated them sufficiently, dis-

solved them, February 4; yet with this word of consolation to his other House, *My Lords! ye are lords and shall be lords*. This was the fourth Parliament he dissolved, having before violently turned out the Long Parliament, the Little Parliament, the Recognition Parliament, and this garbled Junto. There goes a saying concerning the three latter, which were summoned by Cromwell himself, *that the first was called but not chosen, the second did just nothing, and the third did nothing just*.

However, Cromwell resolved to maintain what he had gotten *per fas et nefas*. He had called his eldest son Richard out of the country to inure him to a court life and public affairs, and placed his second, Henry, in Ireland, in the room of Fleetwood, whom he recalled from thence, wanting, as he said, his presence and counsel. Moreover he had married his two youngest daughters in the foregoing November, one to Mr. Robert Rich, heir-apparent to the earldom of Warwick, and the other to Thomas, Viscount Falconbridge. And having thus settled himself, he resolved to rule at his pleasure, despairing of ever having the compliance of a full and free-chosen Parliament. On the twelfth of March he sent for Tichburn, then Lord Mayor of Lon-

don, the Aldermen and Common-Council, and acquainting them with the imminent danger of the Commonwealth by reason of secret machinations from some ill-willers to his government, gave them orders for settling the militia. Whereupon the guards were doubled, and a strict watch was set in all parts of the City. Shortly after divers persons were apprehended and imprisoned; and among others, Doctor John Hewet, Minister of St. Gregory's near Paul's, Mr. John Russell, brother of the Earl of Bedford, Sir William Compton, brother of the Earl of Northampton, Mr. John Mordaunt, brother of the Earl of Peterburgh, Sir Richard Willis, Sir William Leighton, and many more of less quality. Hereupon followed a day of solemn humiliation, and a High Court of Justice; before which was brought, first, Sir Henry Slingsby of Yorkshire; he was accused of treason by one Waterhouse and one Overton, officers in the garrison of Hull, for conspiring to seize upon that place for the King: next him was brought to trial Dr. Hewet; he was impeached of treason for holding correspondence with the King, and delivering his commissions to several persons for levying forces against the government; but the Doctor refused to own the authority of the court. The same



day Mr. Mordaunt was also arraigned before the said High Court for a treasonable design; but he made his innocence so apparent against all the evidence, that he was acquitted. Sir Henry Slingsby and Doctor Hewet received sentence of death (pronounced upon them by President Lisle) on the second of June, and notwithstanding the intercessions of great friends, were beheaded on Tower-Hill, on the fifth of the same month. A few days after one Mallery, the betrayer of all the rest, was tried *pro forma* and condemned, but reprieved. Other persons were also tried, whereof some were acquitted, some condemned and reprieved; but three persons were dealt with in the greatest rigour, being hanged and quartered, namely, Colonel Edward Ashton in Tower-street, over against Mark-lane end, John Bettely in Cheapside, and Edmund Stacy before the Old Exchange, the seventeenth of July. These murders were ushered in with a fast and concluded with a day of thanksgiving. Sad news was this to his sacred Majesty, who could not but be infinitely sensible of the sufferings of these loyal persons, as well as of the calamitous state his interest was thereby brought into. However he gave not himself up to pensiveness and unprofitable sorrow, but

repaired for awhile to Antwerp, with the two Dukes his brothers, and the Princess his sister, from whence also he went to Bruxelles, and resided there for a good space, being entertained there splendidly by Don John of Austria, and desired to be present at most consultations for carrying on the war against the French.

In August Elizabeth Cleypole, daughter to Cromwell, and wife to one John Cleypole, died at Hampton-Court, much troubled in mind, by reason of the bloody actions of her father (as was reported). But whether it were so or no, this is certain, that Cromwell never enjoyed himself after her death, and did not survive her a full month. He lay some while in a very sad condition with extreme torment and pain in his bowels; nevertheless he could not endure to think of dying, but said the night before his death,—*That God had revealed to him that he should not die, and that he had a great deal of glorious work for him still to do in these nations.* But on Friday, the third of September, he departed this life, or as some say, on the thirtieth of August, at which time was the most furious violent wind that ever happened in the memory of man. Immediately upon his death his council met, and upon the affirmation of Dr. Goodwin, that

he nominated his son Richard to succeed him, or that they judged it the most expedient course, they ordered him to be proclaimed Protector accordingly. Which was done the next day in the City of London, and his new Highness took an oath prescribed in the *Humble Petition and Advice*. Richard's first care was the interment of his father, and search was made into the records to see what had been expended upon the burial of former kings, to the end greater cost might be bestowed upon his. All the gaudery was not provided till the twenty-third of November, and then his image was drawn in great pomp to Westminster Abbey, and laid in a stately hearse. What became of his carcass is not certainly known. Thus ended this great tyrant after almost five years' usurpation, during which he spent vast sums of treasure to maintain his ill-gotten power, and yet his funeral charges amounting to above 39,000*l.* are unpaid for at this day. As soon as the ceremonies were over, young Cromwell was urged by his wants of money, and other pressing occasions, to call a Parliament; to which end he sent forth writs (not according to the instrument of government, but after the old way, two in a county, &c). In the mean time many congru-

tulatory addresses were made to him from counties, cities, boroughs, and regiments of soldiers, full of flattery and profaneness, some of them comparing the old tyrant to Moses, and his imp to Joshua, the guides and conductors of God's people out of Egyptian thralldom. The chosen Members assembled at Westminster on the twenty-seventh of January, and so did the other House. Great debates were amongst them touching the recognition of the Government, and transacting with the other House as Lords (during which two Speakers successively died); till the young Protector, being undermined by a cabal of officers, Fleetwood, Desborough, &c. weakly yielded to the dissolving of the Parliament, on Friday the twenty-second of April, shortly after which (a fast being solemnized) the remainder of the *Long Parliament*, who had been dissolved by Cromwell, April 20, 1653, were invited by Lambert to sit again; which they did on the seventh of May, excluding by violence such of their fellow-members as they had before secluded in December 1648, though they were the greater number. Richard was thereupon deprived of his government, and so was his brother Harry in Ireland. And now this old Junto being advanced again and congratulated

(as other governments had formerly been) from Scotland, Ireland, and the Fleet, begin to act like subtle politicians. And to the end the army might be kept in obedience to them, they made the Speaker of the House General, cashiered many officers, and caused new commissions to be delivered by the Speaker in the House of Parliament to all the commanders both of land and sea-forces. The affections of the people they did not much value, so long as the army would stand to them. To gratify whom they imposed a whole year's tax, at 35,000*l. per mensem*, to be paid immediately. After which about July they passed an act for settling the militia of counties in such hands as they pleased: but Lambert and the other officers (who intended to have the whole guard of the Rump, and aimed at other designs) not relishing this proceeding, it was laid aside.

Nothing could have been more odious to the nation than this re-establishment of the *Rump-Parliament*; who taking these courses to secure the perpetual continuance of their sitting, and resolving never to increase their number by admitting their fellow-members or new ones legally elected in their places, awakened the spirits of most of the gentry of the nation to attempt some-

thing for their country's liberty by restitution of the ancient government. A great inclination there was in most counties to take up arms, and several offers were made in divers places, but none was so considerable as that in Cheshire, Lancashire, and the parts adjoining, under Sir George Booth, Sir Thomas Middleton, and other gentlemen in those parts. They declared for a full and free Parliament to be elected by the people. Sir George Booth had taken Westchester, and was reported to be very numerous. Whereupon Lambert was sent out against him with an army of six or seven thousand men, and a train of artillery; moreover forces from all quarters were appointed to draw to him, so that all meeting he had a very puissant army. The party under Sir George Booth had been in arms a good time before Lambert came against them, in expectation that other counties would have done the like; but this hope failing, upon Lambert's approach, many of them withdrew from him. The rest came to an encounter with Lambert at Northwich, and were without much difficulty defeated. The number of the slain was not many, but the prisoners were in great multitudes; Sir George Booth himself was also within a few days after taken in a disguise in an

ian at Newport-Pagnel in Bedfordshire, as he was coming up to London. Persons of quality taken besides him were the Earl of Derby, the Lord Kilmurrey, Major-General Ranulph Eger-ton, Sir William Neile, Sir Thomas Powel of Flintshire, Colonel Massey of Cheshire, Major Peter Brook. The Earl of Stamford and Sir Thomas Leventhorp were also imprisoned in other places with some hundreds of gentlemen for designing to levy war against the Commonwealth. The Rump, overjoyed with this success, presented Lambert with 1000*l.* to buy him a jewel, but he thought it more suitable to his designs to distribute it amongst his army.

During these actions in England his Majesty privately withdrew from Bruxelles, together with the Duke of York; it was imagined by many that they were come concealed into England in expectation of the event, or at least lay upon the sea-coasts ready to have transported some forces in a fleet which rode upon the coast of Flanders, in case matters had succeeded prosperously. But not long after the suppression of the Cheshire insurrection, they appeared again at Bruxelles; from whence his Majesty dispatched an ambassador to attend with certain proposals at the interview of Cardinal Mazarine for the French

King, and Don Lewis de Haro for the Spanish, who met upon the confines to treat a peace between the two crowns, and a marriage between the King of France and the Infanta of Spain. The ambassador was entertained by the two grand ministers with very high testimonies of honour and respect, and promised to have his master's interest taken into consideration as soon as the concerns of their own would permit.

But in England the pretended Parliament fell eagerly to their old beloved trade of sequestration, and determined to exercise the utmost of severity upon the actors in the late insurrection. And no doubt they would have prosecuted their intentions, had not providence diverted their malice by a breach which fell out between them and the principal officers of the army. Lambert (whose ambition instigated him to be so active in the late change of government, and so popular in the management of his late expedition), together with other grand officers, thought the Parliament so obliged to them for restoring them to power and preserving them in it, that they conceived none of their demands ought to be denied. Whereupon, at their return to London, a petition was presented to the House by



Desborough for a general. The Junto, remembering how their former general had served them, not only denied this request, but vacated the commissions of Lambert, Desborough, and seven others, and voted the supreme command of the army into the hands of seven commissioners, whereof two or three were army-men, the other Members of Parliament. Lambert and his companions were so incensed herewith, that upon the eleventh of October forces were drawn out on either side at Westminster; those for the Junto commanded by Hazlerig, Morley, and others; those for the army by Lambert himself, Desborough, Berry, and other colonels; and had not the Council of State interposed, they had charged one another. Nevertheless the army-party prevailed, and turned the Rump out of doors, October 13. Which being done, the great officers, having assembled in council at Wallingford House, disposed of commands among themselves, Fleetwood was made General, Lambert Lieutenant-General, Desborough General of the Horse; and that they might satisfy General Monk too, who governed Scotland, they made him Major-General of the foot. As for civil affairs, they erected a Committee of Safety, consisting chiefly of army-officers and

some Members of the dissolved Junto, who sided with them, as Vane, Salwey, &c. The council of officers also, for satisfaction of the people, put forth a declaration concerning their late proceedings, charging the Rump with high crimes, and making void their late pretended acts. Moreover, they appointed certain persons to frame a model of government; which no question would have proved an excellent one, when only swordmen and tradesmen were to be the contrivers. But that which checked their contentment in these courses was the dissatisfaction of General Monk in Scotland. Letters of expostulation passed to and fro between the General and Fleetwood; but the English army in the mean time prepared to march against him forthwith, and was led towards the north by Lambert, consisting of about twelve thousand men. The General, seeing them thus beforehand with him, sent Commissioners to Westminster to treat, yet, withal, marched southward with what forces he could raise, and fortified Berwick-upon-Tweed. The Commissioners going beyond their instructions, the General was not satisfied with the treaty, and therefore soon after desired another at Newcastle; during which he called a Convention of Estates in Scot-

land, who not only approved his undertaking, but assisted him in it. While things stood thus, the City of London, though they well enough liked the turning out of the Rump, would by no means join with the army; but about the beginning of December, the apprentices, and some others, framed a petition to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen for a free Parliament; the soldiers understanding it interposed, and a great hurly-burly thereupon arose in the City, some being slain and others wounded. Fleetwood was therefore desired to draw his forces out of the City; but instead of doing that, he placed garrisons in several parts of it, threatening to fire it if the citizens stirred. At the same time Hazlerig, Morley, and some other Rumpers, seized on Portsmouth, and declared against the army; and part of the navy under Vice-Admiral Lawson did the like, and blocked up the Thames. The City in this condition would declare neither for Parliament nor Army, but still desired a free Parliament, which at last was consented to upon divers enslaving qualifications, and proclaimed by the Committee of Safety to begin on the twenty-fourth of January. Upon the borders all this while nothing was done, the treaty took no effect; nevertheless General Monk kept from engaging,

nor was it possible for Lambert to draw him to it, whose forces, quartered in a cold barren country, were unable to march by reason of the hardness of the weather. At length Fleetwood, having treated with Lawson to no effect, and his soldiers being ready to mutiny for want of pay, was forced, out of apprehension of worse consequences, to give over ruling; and the Rump slipped into the House again on December 26, late in the evening, by torch-light. Upon the news hereof Lambert's army deserted him, and General Monk entered into England with his, about the sixth of January.

Whilst affairs were thus turbulent in England, his Majesty, being at Dieppe in Normandy, received an invitation from Don Lewis de Haro, the great Spanish minister, at the frontier of Spain. Which his Majesty accepting, rid post incognito through France, being accompanied only with the Lord Marquess of Ormond and the Earl of Bristol. Upon information of his approach to Bayonne, the Spanish favourite went forth with a splendid train to meet him, and upon the first sight of him alighted from his horse, and notwithstanding the inconvenience of the place, in a very humble posture embraced his Majesty's knees; from whence also he con-

ducted him (riding all the way bareheaded) to the best lodgings the place afforded. On the next day his Majesty was visited by Mazarine, whom he entertained with that discreet wariness that he let him know he sufficiently understood his projects. The result of his Majesty's consultations with Don Lewis was, that the favourite in his master's name promised him all assistance both of men and money, as soon as the conclusion of the French peace permitted. Whereupon his Majesty, after high caresses and treatments, returned privately by post to Paris; where staying with the Queen his mother some few days, he departed to his former residence at Bruxelles.

This private journey occasioned so certain a belief in the sectarians here in power, that his Majesty and the Duke of York (who lay at Calais) were come over into England, that many persons were apprehended for them, and particularly one Mr. Colt was taken and imprisoned for the Duke of York, and others also for his Majesty.

We left General Monk upon his march out of Scotland; all parties had their hopes fixed upon him; the Rump presuming by his assistance to quell the refractory City; and the citizens, that



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THE LIFE OF ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

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he would enforce the Rump either to call in the Members secluded in December, 1648, or to fill up the House with new elections; yet none knew certainly his intentions. During his march he was addressed to by several counties, for the same things that the City desired, who also sent their swordbearer as far as Newcastle to congratulate his coming, and tender the respects and affections of the City to him. Yet he gave such answers as were not satisfactory to any. The Rump also sent two of their Members (Robinson and Scot) to wait upon him, but, indeed, rather as spies to watch and observe him. At St. Albans some Aldermen and Common-Councilmen of London were sent to him from the City to court him, but were returned, as all others, only with thanks for their respects. On Friday, the third of February, he marched into London, and was lodged at Whitehall; being much caressed by the Rump, and received their thanks in the House. The City continuing still their refractoriness to the Rump; and perceiving they so delayed the filling up of the House, as if they never intended it, on Wednesday the eighth of February, passed a vote in Common-Council, not to pay or levy any taxes until such time as they might have a full and free Parliament. This so



enraged the Rump that they ordered the General to march with his army into the City, pull up the chains and posts, break down the gates and portcullis, and imprison divers Aldermen and Commissioners. Which was accordingly executed the next day, to the great terror and amazement, not only of the City, but of the whole nation, when they heard the report of it.

But this consternation did not last long; for the General, reflecting on the odious service the Rump had put him upon, and apprehending their intentions to retrench his power (which indeed, his commission being that day expired, they did accordingly, joining him with some of their members and officers in the supreme command of the army), on Saturday, the eleventh of February, drew his army into Finsbury-fields, and presently after, upon some conference with the Lord Mayor and some chief citizens, writ a letter to the Junta, as from Whitehall, subscribed by himself and fourteen of his chief officers, wherein he told them with what regret "he had executed their late orders in relation to the chains, posts, and gates of the City, which he feared would be so far from answering the expected end, that it would rather increase the

discomposure of men's spirits in the nations ;" minding them also, " that the ground of his coming into England was, not only to return them to their trust, but also to vindicate the liberties of the people, &c." He also complained, " that Lambert, Vane, and others, impeached of treason, and that had acted in the illegal and tyrannical Committee of Safety, were yet suffered to continue in and about the City, and some too in the House and in the army, &c. That they were contriving to take away the maintenance of the ministry; that they were framing another oath to impose upon the people, and to that purpose had countenanced a bold and dangerous petition from the fanatic party." And lastly he desired, " That by the Friday following they would issue out writs for filling up the House upon due and reasonable qualifications, and put a certain and speedy period to their sitting, according to their frequent declarations." This letter produced not greater regret in the Rump, than it did joy to the City and whole kingdom, which was testified at night by bonfires and ringing of bells, &c.

The time set for filling the House being expired, and nothing done by the Rump in order thereunto, the formerly secluded Members, upon

address to the General, and engaging to him not to be against a single person, were on the twenty-first of February permitted to take their seats in the House, after eleven years' exclusion. The House, now augmented by above a hundred Members, take care for settling the nations; and first they constituted General Monk Commander-in-chief of all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Sir William Waller Lieutenant-General, Colonel Rossiter General of the Horse, General Montague Admiral at sea. Then they appointed a new Council of State, consisting of General Monk, the Lord Fairfax, Mr. Annesley, Sir William Waller, Mr. Hollis, General Montague, and others, to the number of thirty. And with all speed they released several gentlemen imprisoned by the Rump, and amongst others Sir George Booth; ordering also the City gates to be repaired at the public charge. And lastly, having made provision for settling the militia of the kingdom, and calling a new Parliament to convene at Westminster the twenty-fifth of April, they dissolved themselves by act on Friday the sixteenth of March. And thus ended that unhappy Long Parliament, after almost nineteen years from their first assembling, having been interrupted for five years

together by Cromwell, and for ten weeks by Lambert.

His Majesty in the mean time removed from the Spanish Court at Bruxelles to Bruges in Flanders, and resided there for a good space; but being now in fair hopes of restitution to his dominions, departed from thence toward the latter end of March to Breda, a handsome town situate in Brabant, about ten leagues from Antwerp, and belonging to the Prince of Orange.

In this interval the Council of State prudently managed affairs, proclaiming against all disturbers of the peace, under whatsoever pretence, and tendering an engagement for peaceable demeanour, to be subscribed by such as they suspected of disturbance, which Lambert refusing, was committed to the Tower. The General also purged his army of fanatics, both officers and soldiers, and sent down two colonels to displace Overton from the garrison of Hull, which he pretended to keep till the coming of Jesus Christ. But about the middle of April a great disturbance had like to have happened. For Lambert, having made an escape out of the Tower, appeared in arms about Northampton at the head of a party, many cashiered soldiers and fanatics repairing to him. But this danger

was timely removed by Colonel Richard Ingoldsby, who without fighting took Lambert with his own hand, and sent him up to London prisoner, together with a son of Hazlerig's, Colonel Cobbet, and Major Creed. They were brought by coach through Hyde Park on the twenty-fourth of April, at which time twenty thousand horse and foot of City regiments and auxiliaries were training there.

The Parliament, according to appointment, assembled at Westminster, and chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone Speaker, the nobility also taking their places in the Upper House by virtue of their peerage, and choosing the Earl of Manchester Speaker. Within a few days after their meeting, the Lord Viscount Mordaunt and Sir John Greenville, one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's bedchamber, arrived at London with letters from his Majesty dated at Breda, April 4-14. One was to the House of Peers, another to the House of Commons, another to General Monk and his officers, and another to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London. These letters were accompanied with a declaration, and delivered accordingly on May-day. The two Houses received them with great joy and loyal affection, and so did his Excellency

and the City; from whom Sir John Greenville received 200*l.* and 500*l.* from the Parliament, as a gratuity, to buy him a jewel. The letters were full of very gracious expressions, and in the declaration his Majesty offered—" I. A free and general pardon to be passed under the Great Seal to all persons whatsoever, who within forty days after the publication thereof shall sue it out; excepting such as should be excepted by the Parliament. II. A liberty to tender consciences in matters of religion, so as the peace of the kingdom be not disturbed, and to pass such an act to that effect, as the Parliament should think fit to offer. III. The determination concerning sales and purchases, to the Parliament. IV. and lastly, Satisfaction of arrears to the officers and soldiers of General Monk's army, and reception of them into his own service upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy." Hereupon the House of Commons vote his Majesty's letters and declaration satisfactory, and the government to be in King, Lords, and Commons; soon after which both Houses ordered a certain number of their Members to go to his Majesty with letters, and to invite him to his kingdoms; also 50,000*l.* was ordered to be immediately sent to him, 10,000*l.* to the Duke of

York, and 5000*l.* to the Duke of Gloucester. The City also deputed several worthy members to wait upon his Majesty with a letter, and 10,000*l.* as a present. Moreover Admiral Montague was commanded to attend him upon the coasts of Holland with a squadron of ships. But the General first of all dispatched away his brother Sir Thomas Clarges with a letter to his Majesty, wherein was enclosed an address of the officers, professing their allegiance to his Majesty. On Tuesday, the eighth of May, his Majesty was solemnly proclaimed in London, and soon after in all counties, cities, and boroughs of England, and that with greater transports of joy than had ever been known upon the like or any other occasion. In the mean time great numbers of persons of quality daily flocked over to Breda to his Majesty, who stayed not long there, but removed to the Hague, where himself and the English gentry were splendidly entertained at the charge of the States, who also presented him with gifts of great value. From thence the Queen of Bohemia, with the Princess of Orange, and the young Prince, accompanied his Majesty and the two Dukes to the seaside, where they were entertained in the Naseby with a magnificent

collation, and so his Majesty took leave of them, and set sail for England. At his landing at Dover he was met by the General, who immediately kneeled to kiss his royal hand ; but his Majesty embraced him graciously, and took him with his two Brothers into his coach to Dover, whence after a treatment by the Magistrates he rode to Canterbury, where he was met by the Mayor and Citizens, who presented him a golden cup full of gold ; and the Ministers, who presented him a Bible.

Having rested there on Sunday, the next day he went to Cobham House, and on Tuesday, the twenty-ninth of May (being his birthday), he came towards London, attended by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Northampton, Norwich, Shrewsbury, Litchfield, Cleveland, the Lord Mordaunt, and Sir John Robinson, with their several troops of the chiefest nobles and gentry of the kingdom, and the General with ten regiments of his best horse, besides innumerable companies of people that flocked from all the adjacent counties. On Blackheath, near Greenwich, he was met by Major-General Brown, with a gallant company of young citizens and others, &c.; and at Southwark he was met by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and three



hundred citizens in velvet coats and gold chains representing the several companies, and entertained with a collation in a tent erected on purpose ; and from thence about five o'clock in the afternoon he rode into the City between his two brothers, the streets being on one side beset with the several companies in their gowns, and on the other with soldiers, the windows adorned with tapestry and other hangings, the conduits running with wine, and the people testifying their joy with incessant shoutings and acclamations.

Arriving at Whitehall, the Speakers of both Houses congratulated his return in two solemn speeches, to which his Majesty answered, that the people's acclamation (together with his journey), though grateful to him as demonstrations of affection, had so disordered him, that he could not give such an answer as he desired. But they should find him a sincere defender of the laws and liberties of the people, and the Parliament should not be more ready to ask his consent to any thing fitting to be done than he would be to grant it. After which he retired out of the Banqueting House to his lodgings.

Thus we have traced out all the principal actions of this great King's life, in his infancy,

youth, and manhood, to this present, as well in his own territories as beyond the seas, and withal given an account of the most considerable events here in England during the oligarchy of the late Long Parliament, and the tyranny of Oliver Cromwell. In all which we have endeavoured to give an impartial relation with as much brevity as the smallness of this volume (containing more strange occurrences than have happened in some ages) would permit. May the God of Heaven, who of his infinite and undeserved mercy towards these poor nations hath restored his Majesty to his dominions, long preserve his sacred person for the good both of Church and Commonwealth, and multiply the years of his reign in honour and prosperity.

*Glory be to God on High; and on Earth peace and good will towards Men.*



## NOTES.

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### HENRIETTA-MARIA.—See p. 5.

The Queen-mother, Henrietta-Maria, returned to England in 1660, after an absence of about nineteen years. She declared, upon her re-entering Somerset House, "that if she had known the temper of the English some years past, as well as she did then, she had never been obliged to leave that house." She exerted herself with her usual vehemence against the marriage of the Duke of York with Anne Hyde, which she was determined to prevent or annul. She also expressed the strongest dislike to those ministers who had the greatest share of the royal confidence and favour. On a sudden she appeared to be reconciled to the match and to acquiesce in the ministry. This was imputed to a soothing, or, to speak more properly, an intimidating letter, sent her by Cardinal Mazarine.

Upon the breaking out of the Plague in 1665, she retired to France, where she died in August 1669, in the sixtieth year of her age. It appears from Sir John Reresby's "Memoirs," that she was secretly married to Henry Jermyn, Earl of St. Albans.

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### JAMES, DUKE OF YORK.—See p. 7.

The Duke of York, though he had a quick relish for pleasure, followed business with that closeness of application

which the King his brother wanted ; and wanted himself that quickness of apprehension, that natural sagacity and apparent benevolence of temper, which was so conspicuous in the King. His notions of government were as erroneous as those of his father and grandfather ; and the large steps which his brother took towards arbitrary power, were in a great measure owing to his instigation. He was, what rarely happens, revengeful and valiant almost in the same degree ; and displayed such courage in the first Dutch war, as rendered him more popular than all the other acts of his life. His bigotry to the Roman Catholic religion, which was still increasing with his years, had the strongest influence upon his conduct ; and at length prompted him to such measures as were condemned by the sober and judicious of all religions. On the Revolution in 1688, the Duke of York, then James the Second, fled to France, where the Palace of St. Germain's was assigned him, and where he died, Sept. 6, 1701.

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#### HENRY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.—See p. 7.

Henry Duke of Gloucester, at the King's last interview with his children, discovered an understanding and sensibility far beyond his years. The solemn advice of his father sunk deep into his mind ; and his conduct in life was much more conformed to it, than the conduct of either of his brothers. After the King's death, it was advised by one of Cromwell's friends, that he should be bound out to some good trade, that so he might get his bread honestly. He was, however, permitted, or rather forced, to leave the kingdom with very slender accommodations, to follow the fortunes of the Royal

Family, who were then miserable dependants on the Crown of France. The Duke of Gloucester did not long survive the Restoration of his brother, dying Sept. 13, 1660, at the age of twenty-one. The King had an extraordinary affection for him; and was observed to be more deeply affected at his death, than with any calamity that had ever befallen him.

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**MARY, THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE.—See p. 7.**

The Princess of Orange, who was esteemed the most fortunate of the family of Charles the First, had, from the goodness and tenderness of her nature, a deep share in all the miseries of the Royal Family. She was more than a sister to the King her brother, she was the friend of his adversity, and was a conspicuous proof that the mild virtues are not inconsistent with fortitude; as she bore the loss of a father and a husband, whom she entirely loved, with patience, and even magnanimity. She came into England, to congratulate her brother upon his Restoration, and died soon after her arrival, of the small-pox, and was interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, the 31st of December, 1660.

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**THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.—See p. 94.**

The Princess Elizabeth, in her childhood, discovered a maturity of judgment rarely seen in women. She could hold a conversation with her father upon persons and things, and sympathized with him in his misfortunes. The troubles and death of the King are supposed to have put an early period

to her life. She died at Carisbrook Castle, the eighth of September, 1650, in the fifteenth year of her age, and was buried at Newport in the Isle of Wight. It has been asserted in print, that she was bound apprentice to a glover of that place, and worked at his trade; but this is sufficiently contradicted by Fuller in his "Worthies" in Westminster, p. 239.

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THE DUTCHESS OF ORLEANS.—See p. 8.

Henrietta-Maria, youngest daughter of Charles the First, and wife to Philip Duke of Orleans, only brother of Lewis XIV. was a woman of uncommon sense and vivacity, and in readiness of wit superior to the King her brother. She is said to have attracted the particular notice of Lewis, at the time that he extended his conquests over the ladies of his court, with as much rapidity as his generals did over the Spanish territories in the Netherlands. She came over to England to attach her brother to the French interest, and concluded a private treaty with him against the Dutch, which was much more for the advantage of Lewis than of Charles, but equally to the dishonour of both. The Duke her husband was certainly jealous of her, and even suspected that too great familiarities had passed betwixt her and her brother. He is said to have caused her to be poisoned soon after her return to France. She died June 30, 1670, aged 25.

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FRANCIS, LORD COTTINGTON.—See p. 13.

Francis, Lord Cottington, who was Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and Master of the Court of Wards, was, during the civil wars, constituted Lord High Treasurer; but does not appear to have acted in that

office. In the reign of James the First, he was long resident in Spain, and had much of the Spanish solemnity in his air and aspect. He had the greatest command of his temper and countenance, could say the pleasantest things with the gravest face; and was as great a master of dissimulation, as he was of humour. He, from experience, had a great knowledge of mankind; had a head fertile in expedients to procure money for the King; and raised the revenue of the Court of Wards higher than ever it was known in any former period. Having acquired an affluent fortune, he retired towards the close of his life to Valladolid in Spain, where he died about the year 1651, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

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**JAMES, DUKE OF HAMILTON.**—See p. 40.

James, Duke of Hamilton, who was at the head of the moderate Presbyterians in Scotland, was much in the favour and confidence of Charles I. He was accused by his enemies of a design upon the King's life; but the King gave so little credit to it, that he made no scruple of lying afterward in the same bedchamber with him, without using any precautions for his safety. He was so dilatory in his military proceedings, that he was strongly suspected of treachery to that prince, in whose cause he afterward lost his life. In 1648 he invaded England with a numerous army, which was presently defeated by Cromwell and Lambert, the latter of whom took him prisoner. Beheaded, the 9th of March, 1648-9.

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**WILLIAM, DUKE OF HAMILTON.**—See p. 128.

William, Duke of Hamilton, who was a man of too much spirit to be neuter in the divisions of his country, was



in the civil war, carried by the popular current much farther than he intended to go. In his character were united the accomplishments of the gentleman, with the openness and sincerity of the soldier. In the battle of Worcester, he gave the strongest proofs of his courage and loyalty. He died of a shot in the leg, which he received valiantly fighting for Charles the Second. In the article of death, he expressed the highest satisfaction, that he had the honour to lose his life in the King's service, and thereby to wipe out the memory of his former transgressions, which, he always professed, were odious to himself. He was brother to the duke who was beheaded. He lived but a few days after the battle, and died early in September 1651.

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#### JAMES GRAHAM, MARQUESS OF MONTROSE.

See p. 57.

James Graham, Marquess of Montrose, was comparable to the greatest heroes of antiquity. He undertook, against every obstacle that could terrify a less enterprising genius, to reduce the kingdom of Scotland to the obedience of the King; and his success was answerable to the greatness of his undertaking. By a thousand efforts of stratagem and valour, he, in a few months, effected his great design; but, for want of supplies, was forced to abandon his conquests. After the death of Charles, he, with a few men, made a second attempt, but was presently defeated by a numerous army. As he was leaving the kingdom in disguise he was betrayed into the hands of the enemy by the Lord Aston, his treacherous friend. He was carried to his execution with every circumstance of indignity that wanton cruelty could invent, and hanged upon a gibbet thirty feet

high, with the book of his exploits appendant to his neck. He bore his reverse of fortune with his usual greatness of mind, and expressed a just scorn at the rage and insult of his enemies. We meet with many instances of valour in the active reign of Charles the First, but Montrose is the only instance of heroism. He was executed May 21, 1650.

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#### GEORGE MONK, DUKE OF ALBEMARLE.

See p. 105.

George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, who had a very early inclination to a military life, served in the Low Countries, under the lords Oxford and Goring. In the Civil War, he at first adhered to the King; but having suffered a tedious imprisonment for his loyalty, he took the Covenant, and entered into the service of the Parliament. He signalized himself at the battle of Dunbar, where he had a principal share in that important victory. He was afterward employed by Cromwell in reducing Scotland, which he did effectually, and had the chief management of affairs in that kingdom. It is well known that he had the greatest hand in the Restoration, and that his gallant behaviour on board the fleet, in the Dutch war, was almost without example. He possessed talents both for peace and war; but his capacity was more adapted to the field than the cabinet. He was created Duke of Albemarle July 7, 1660; and died Jan. 3, 1670.

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#### MRS. JANE LANE.—See p. 142.

Mrs. Jane Lane was a woman of uncommon sense and spirit, and famous for assisting Charles the Second in his

escape after the fatal battle of Worcester. The Royal Fugitive, disguised in her father's livery, rode before her on horseback, from Bently-Hall in Staffordshire, the seat of Mr. Lane, about twelve miles from Boscobel-Wood, to Mr. Norton's, near Bristol. This adventure was conducted with such singular address, that the King passed unnoticed through that long journey. On their arrival at Bristol, the King went into the kitchen, by the advice of his supposed mistress, the better to conceal himself; and as he was standing by the fire-side near the jack, the cook-maid desired him to wind it up; but he fumbling until the spit stood still, the maid struck him, and calling him black blockhead, asked where the devil he had lived, that he had not learned to wind up a jack? The King modestly replied with a blush, that he was a poor tradesman's son, and had not been long in his lady's service. Mrs. Lane was amply rewarded at the Restoration, and was afterward married to Sir Clement Fisher, Baronet, of Packington-Hall in Warwickshire.

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RICHARD PENDERELL.—See p. 135.

Richard Penderell, and his brother William, were chiefly instrumental to the escape of Charles the Second after the fatal battle of Worcester. There were six brothers of this family, who rented little farms on the borders of Staffordshire, and were frequently employed as labourers in cutting down timber. The King took shelter the first night after his escape at White-Ladies, a house belonging to the Penderell's, about twenty miles from Worcester. Here he cut his hair short, and threw his clothes into a privy. Richard went with him into the wood, where he was concealed a whole

day, during which time he had nothing to eat or drink. He afterward attended him many miles on foot, and came back with him to one of his brother's houses, where he found Major Careless, who accompanied him in Boscobel-Wood, where they concealed themselves in an oak. The Penderells were among the small number of Loyalists who were rewarded after the Restoration. Richard died February 8, 1671, and lies buried in the church-yard of St. Giles's in the Fields, where a monument is erected to his memory.



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